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ARCHÆOLOGIE  
**ATTICÆ**  
LIBRI SEPTEM.  
SEAVEN BOOKS OF THE  
ATTICK Antiquities.  
CONTAINING,

The description of the Citties glory, Government, division of the People, and Townes within the *Athenian* Territories, their Religion, Superstition, Sacrifices, account of the Yeare, a full relation of their Judicatories. By FRANCIS ROUS Scholler of *Merton* Colledge in *Oxon*.

With an addition of their customes in Marriages, Burialls, Feastings, Divinations &c. in the foure last bookes. By ZACHARY BOGAN Scholler of C.C.C. in *Oxon*.

The fourth Edition corrected and enlarged with a twofold Index *Rerum & Vocabulorum*.

Aristid: Περιεληλυθότες τὰς ἀκοάς, ἐπερχόμεθα, μᾶλλον ἔχοντες ἔργον ὃ, τι φυλαξόμεθα ἢ ὅτι χρυσόμεθα, ἀφ' αὐτῶν.

O X F O R D,

Printed by LEO. LICHFIELD, and HEN. HALL, for  
John Adams, and Ed. Ferrest. 1654. Ε.

Wing R. 2034



TO THE  
RIGHT WORSHIPFULL  
Sir NATHANIEL BRENT Knight  
Vicar Generall, and the most vigilant  
*Warden of Merton Colledge in*  
OXFORD, *Health, &c.*



It is the custome of most,  
to impose a patronage of  
their errours upon some  
eminent person. But it  
shall be my ambition in  
this my Dedication, to  
manifest my observancie.  
Others make their choice of potent men,  
thereby to shun the darts of envy. It shall be  
my glory to be thought worthy of inviden-  
cy, whose ignorance is not so great but well  
¶ 2 knows

## THE EPISTLE.

knowes that ever some will bite in secret;  
and scourge these errors of my youth with  
private reproches. But such malignant  
tongues I will counterpoise with the wind;  
and let as lightly by as they are vaine. And al-  
though I am confidently perswaded that the  
covert of your wings, be sufficiently able to  
shelter my faults, yet had I rather to expresse  
my duty toward you in these naked infirmi-  
ties, whose goodnesse truly knowes \* how  
to pardon the bold adventures of learning. I  
present you therefore with *Athens*, whose  
deplorable raggednesse my papers well re-  
semble: which may challenge this excuse,  
that they assimilate themselves to the Trea-  
sure in them contained. Which of all men, I  
my selfe am conscious most unfitly to have  
handled. That City once the \* nurse of rea-  
son; \* which flourisht in eloquence, & brave  
atchievements more then all *Greece*, could  
not, unlesse in her miserable ruines, have  
without her disgrace been spoken of by me:  
That *Athens* Whence the learned Fathers  
of the Church sucked rare literature, *Basil* his  
eloquence

\* Ausis lite-  
rarum igno-  
scere Vege-  
tius in Pro-  
log.

\* Cic. Epist.  
\* Patercul in  
sine Lib. 1.

## DEDICATORY.

eloquence, *Nazianzen* his strength, & others  
their flowing Oratory. That *Athens* which  
who had not seen is by \* *Lyssius* accoun- \*  
ted a block. Accept, *Honoured Sir*, these Re-  
liques of that famous University, though by  
me offered, as Devotion paid to Antiquity,  
by you well esteemed of, though among  
most of these our daies accounted durt;  
whose labour it is to seek new fashions, and  
like nought but what may be accounted no-  
velty. Resembling the brute, of which *Cice-  
ro*. *Ad id solum quod adest, quodq; praesens est se  
accommodat, paulum admodum sentiens prateri-  
tum, &c.* never caring for what is past. But  
you weigh well the excellency of talking  
with those Champions of Learning, hun-  
dreds of years since gathered to their former  
dust. By whose pensills wee see drawne the  
lively Images of deceased Monarchs, the  
formes of government, and very lives of states.  
Out of which patternes, if you please to  
deeme the least part of this to have been ta-  
ken, it shall heapt to my joy that the follow-  
ing Tract will not seeme a spurious and de-

\* Apud Di-  
carchum  
\* *Εἰ μὴ τὸ δὲ  
ἀπαιτῆς Ἀ-  
θῶναι, σὺ λὲ-  
ξῃ ἂν.*

THE EPISTLE &c,  
generate of spring. Upon presumption of  
which I feare not, as the Eagles doe their  
young, to expose my brood to the rayes of the  
open Sunne. Thus with continuall wishes  
for addition to your happinesse, I take leave,  
From my Study in Merton Colledge June 9.  
1637.

*Your VVorship's in all bumility*

*to be commanded*

F. ROVS.



To the Reader.



*I* is not a thirst of empty  
glory that makes me runne  
hazard of your censure,  
but a consideration of the  
weaknesse of Schoole-ma-  
sters, who undertake to read the Greeke  
Orators to raw Schollers, themselves be-  
ing not ripe in the Attick custumes. I  
have therefore so farre endeavoured as  
you see. If any thing may afford a scruple  
to any, he shall engage me that will re-  
quire satisfaction. If any thing seem a-  
misse,



To the Reader.

misſe, it ſhall be taken by mee as a favour  
to heare of it from any. For I am not of  
thoſe whoſe eares are ſtopt, when their  
errors are told them. If this pleaſe it  
ſhall adde ſpurre to the finiſhing of this  
courſe intended; and as occaſion may give  
leave, you ſhall have the reſt that may be  
ſpoken.

Yours

F. R.

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ladii & Nereidum, Plutarchi ea de re  
ſententia, Alii ſub Eretheo volunt  
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2 Athenarum ſitu, Ἀθηνῶν, Ἀθηνῶν,  
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phalericus, Porta, Aer, Laus paſſim  
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3 Ἀθῆναι, Ἀθῆναι, Mores & in-  
genia, τὸ μωσολογία, Quantum ho-  
dierum differunt à veteribus; & qua-  
litum vitæ rationem modumq; habent.

4 De populi diſpoſitione, Ἐυπει-  
δα, Περικλῆς, Δημοκρίτης, Περικλῆς, Περικλῆς.  
Quid Athenienſibus cum Aegyptiis commu-  
ne.

5 Tribus quatuor ſub Cecrope,  
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ἑκτάτης, ἑκτάτης. Modis ſolis edendi, Teſ-  
tera hoſpitalis, ſeu ſymbolum. Apollo  
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*Archæologia*

(1)



## ARCHÆOLOGIE ATTICÆ

LIB. I. CAP. I.

*Iavan, Ius, Iacones, Ionia, 'Αχινα, 'Αχινα, 'Αχινα, Athene in αἴτᾳ, Cecropia, Cranae, Anthus, Attica, Athene sub Cecrope. Certamen Palladis & Neptuni, Plutarchi ea de re sententia, alii sub Eretheo volunt nominari, Justinus sub Amphiclyone. Salenos, Selines, Satine, Seihina.*

**B**Y the sonnes of Noah were the Iles of the Gentiles divided in their lands, every one after his tongue; when by their audacious folly they would have mounted up to heaven, thinking to leave a name to posterity, by building Castles in the air. From which attempt proceeded that which before they were jealous of, namely, a scattering abroad upon the face of the earth; he having so spoken it, whose breath alone affords a fair wind. Hyst then their sailes they must, and, bidding adieu to the plain in the land of Shehar, seek out some new habitation. Travellers they were of yore, & yet still must journey: Each one in as different a course, as of a divers language: The sons of Shem their way: the sons of Japhet, theirs; Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Iavan; with whom I purpose one furlong

A

10

b Joseph. Antiq. l. I. c. 7. p. 13.  
c Dan. 10. 20. d Cap. 11. 2.

to keepe company, leaving the rest on one side or other, or behind, looking only to my proposed scope. <sup>b</sup> Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰαυδάς ἰωνία καὶ πάντες Ἕλληνας γερύσασθαι. From *Iavan* came *Ion* and all the *Greekes*. And in Scripture we have *Iavan* put for *Greece*; in *Daniel* twice, <sup>c</sup> And when I am gone forth, see the Prince of *Grecia* shall come. And againe, <sup>d</sup> He shall stirre up all against the *Realm* of *Grecia*. Where although the old translation renders it not *Iavan*, yet it is so found in the originall. He then coming into the country called afterwards *Attica*, left unto it his own name, whence it was tearmed *Ion* and *Ias*. <sup>e</sup> Ἡ δὲ Ἀττικὴ τὸ παλαιὸν Ἰωνία καὶ Ἰὰς ἐκαλεῖτο. For *Attica* was antiently called *Ion* and *Ias*. In which words we still retaine some reliques of the radix, notwithstanding the small difference of the termination. But if we please to view after what title the sons of *Iavan* were stiled *Ion*es, we shall come nearer home. *Strabo* in the above quoted place, Ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς ὕμνων φησὶ—Ἐνθάδε Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἰδοῖες—ποδὲ Ἀθωακοὶ λέγουσι. *Homer* when he saies, There the *Bœotians* and *Ion*es, speaks of the *Athenians*. The Scholiast of *Æschylus* on these words,

f In Persis p. 133.

Ἰαθόν δὲ ὅτι Ἰδοῖες οἱ Ἀθωακοὶ λέγον ὅτι ἐκ πνῶ· Ἰδοῖ· Βασιλευσάτω· αὐτῶν. It is to be understood, quoth he, that the *Athenians* are tearmed *Ion*es, from one *Iaon* (he meanes *Iavan*) that was their King. Neither is it strange that the *vau* or υ·φαιδὸν is left out; for though it be not written, yet perswaded I am that it was as much pronounced, as other an Dipthongs were. For the antique Latines and the *Greekes* spake it as broad as, as if it had been *thesavos*, not *thesavos*. <sup>g</sup> St. *Walter Raleigh* is of opinion, That *Asia* the lesse had people before *Greece* had any, and that *Iavan* did not fly from *Babylonia* into *Greece*, but took *Asia* the lesse in his passage, and from thence past over the nearest way, leaving his owne name to some maritime province on that side, as he did unto that part so called. In which, although the authority of so worthy and judicious a man might move much, yet it shall be sufficient for me, only to goe so farre, as antiquity will beare

beare me out. <sup>a</sup> *Thucydides* reports, that it is manifest that all <sup>a</sup> Lib. I. p. 2. *Greece* was not *βεβαίως ἀνικηθῆναι*, firmly inhabited, but that there were continuall pilgrimages, or removings of the inhabitants, forsaking their former places, being driven out by a stronger and greater number. Wherefore when there was no safe traffique or commerce by sea or land, each manured his grounds for to have provent, alone to serve for present necessity, desiring no more then from hand to mouth; it being uncertain, how soon they might be compelled to get them thence. Whereupon they did more willingly change their seats; not taking grievous that sharp charge, *veteres migrare coloni*, Be gone you ancient Boores. But the more fertill soyle had hard bickings. *Thessaly*, *Bœotia*, and a great part of *Peloponnesus*, except *Arcadia*, was often invaded, and the old Lords expelled. <sup>b</sup> Τὴν γὰρ Ἀττικὴν καὶ τὴν ἑμπληθεύσαν διὰ τὸ λαοπληθὺς ἀναστάσαν ἔσθαι, ἀνδραγαθὸν ἦσαν οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ. But *Attica*, by reason of the thinnesse or barrennesse of the ground, was alwaies inhabited by the same men (none it seems being willing to leave his better, for a worse) not affording fuell to contention. Out of which peace sprung up so great a multitude, that *Attica*, even now swarming, and ἐχθρὸς ἑαυτῷ, not able so contain and feed so many, is constrained to send forth Colonies into *Ion*ia, a region of *Asia* the lesse, which is reported by the *Greekes* to borrow denomination from *Ion* the son of *Xuthus*, or, as the Poets say, *Apollo* and *Crenisus*, who in the words of *Euripides* is thought to be <sup>c</sup> Κρήσις Ἀσπίδος· θρονὸς, the maker or founder of *Asia*. The mother *Ion*ia (for so I please to say) kept not still her former name. For in processe of time she owned *Attica*; from *Attica*, as <sup>d</sup> *Strabo* sayes, or from *Attica*, according to <sup>e</sup> *Pausanias*, who was the first king thereof, by <sup>f</sup> *Tzetzes* on *Lycophron* called *Attica*. But <sup>g</sup> *Dion Chrysostom* brings a more naturall reason then this, why it was *Attica*. *Attica* signifies a shore, both in the *Greeke* and <sup>h</sup> *Latine* speech. Now because all of it, within a little, was washed with the sea, and <sup>i</sup> ἀλιπερὲς, it might challenge unto it selfe *Attica*. *Dion* p. 391.

c In *Ion*e. T. 2. p. 619.

d Li. 9. p. 397.

e In *Att.* p. 2.

f Pag. 23.

g Orat. 6.

h *Strabo* l. 9.

ἡ δὲ ἑστία περὶ ὅλην πᾶσαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἑστίαν, ἔδεν δὲ τὴν ἑστίαν  
λαβὼν, ὅς αὐτῶν τινὰ ἔσαν. Hence *Ἀλὶδ* by the *Ænemetical Poet*  
in his *i Cassandra* is put for this country. *Tzetzes*. Because it is  
(*Acta*) a cliffe, that is cast forth and lying in the sea. And *Athens*  
her selfe by *Plautus* is said *Athene in acta*, pro *Athenis Atticia*,  
as *Palmerius* hath noted. But this grew old after a season,  
& *Cecrops*, having married the daughter of *Atlas*, glories in  
his *Cecropia*, and *Athens* was called *Cecropia*, & *Cecropis civitas*,  
and after that *Cranus*, from *Cranus* the king that succeeded  
him. This *Cranus* among other of his daughters had one  
him. This *Cranus* among other of his daughters had one  
*1 Athia*, from whom also was derived *Athia* and *Attica*; next  
*1 Posidonia* and *Minervia*, from *Neptune* and *Pallas*. In this re-  
gion stood *Athens*, *Queene of Greece*, so called, from that vi-  
sion which *Minerva* got over *Neptune*, when *Cecrops*, moved  
with a prodigie of a sudden shooting up of an Olive, and  
with a prodigie of a sudden shooting up of an Olive, and  
the bubling forth of a salt spring in the *Acropolis*, consulted the  
Oracle of *Apollo*, who taught them that the one did signifie  
*Neptune*, the other *Minerva*, taking therefore the men into  
*Neptune*, the other *Minerva*, taking therefore the men into  
suffrages for *Neptune*, and the women for *Minerva*, who had  
most voices should carry it. The females being more, the  
Goddesse bore away the bell. Loe here a witty Devill to  
bring in *ἐπιχρησθῆναι*, Gods of his own making, to infold  
the superstitious in an ignorant zeal. However let us leave  
the shadow of poetical fictions, and take the true draught  
out of *Mythology*. *Plutarch* is of opinion, that the ancient  
kings striving to draw away their subjects from seafaring  
negotiations, and a desire to live by sayling, unto tillage and  
negotiations, gave occasion of the speech that *Ne-*  
*ptune* and *Minerva* did altercate about the city: *ἐκείνοι δὲ*, &c.  
*Neptune* is put for the Sea and businesses thereof. *Minerva* for  
Arts and ingenious kinds of life: nay saies *Ovid* in his *Ka-*  
*Arts* and ingenious kinds of life: nay saies *Ovid* in his *Ka-*  
*Arts* and ingenious kinds of life: nay saies *Ovid* in his *Ka-*  
lender, *Mille Dea est operum*, she is a Goddesse of a thousand  
trades. Others say that the City was consecrated to her by  
*Amphiclyon*, & *nomen civitati Athenas dedit*. *c Justine*. Others in  
the time of *Erechtheus*, among which is *Herodotus*, will have this  
name

i Pag. 22.

k In Spicile-  
gliis.l Strabo &  
Paus. locis  
præd.a Varro apud  
August. l. 18.  
c. 9. de civit.  
Dei.b In them: P.  
87. l. 23.

c Lib. 2.

name given. Which Author <sup>d</sup> *Marcianus Heracleota* doth fol- d ἐν αἰε-  
low, ὅτι οἱ οἱ ἑστίαν ἔρεθῆας τὴν πόλιν ἡγεμῶν καὶ τὴν Ἀθῆναις γῆσι.  
τὴν ἀποστολὴν λαβὼν. This was that *Erechtheus*, who in a time of  
drought over all the world, except *Egypt*, brought corn to  
*Athens*, and taught the *Eleusinian mysteries*. Beholding this  
City hath bene to *Egypt* for other kings; to wit, *c Cecrops*, *e Aristoph.*  
and *Menestheus*, for his father *Petes* was an *Egyptian*. In the sch. pag. 79.  
time of *Diodorus Siculus*, and before him, it was a received *Tzetz.* in  
opinion, that *Athens* was peopled by the *Egyptians*, *Sais* in *Lycoph.*  
that tongue answering to *Athene* in *Greece*, as *Tzetzes* out of *P. 23.*  
*Carax*. Nay that they should be of the inhabitants of *Sais*,  
they argue from this. Because that the *Saitæ* and *Athenians*  
have divers customes alike. Witness *Diodorus Siculus*. But it  
pleases not me. I conjecture that first it was called *Athem*,  
when the people began more seriously to addict themselves  
to civil government, and study of good literature; know-  
ledge and art being ascribed to *Minerva*. τὴν δὲ Ἀθῆναις τὴν  
ἐκείνην ἀποστολὴν καὶ τὴν πόλιν, saies *e Aristotele*. Nay her name f *Polit. I. 8.*  
being derived from thence, *Ἀθῆναι* in the *Chaldy* tongue c. 9.  
signifying to study or learne: from which come *thenaa*, and  
with an article *Hathhenaa*, as *Heinsius* the most learned. g In *Aristar.*  
As for the conceit of *Goropius Becan*, from ana the number of *Sac. Synt. I.*  
three, which notes eternity; and so from *hat-het-ana*, *Athens*. c. I. p. 27.  
But because wisdom doth contain eternity; let us send it  
back into *Germany*. Loe now *Athens* named from learning,  
which was once the *shop of letters* and the *Muses*, whereof it b *Isidor.*  
is now deplorably destitute, having lost the glory of former  
*Athens*, nay the name it self. For if we believe some they tell  
us, that now it is *Salenus* or *Selines*. To whom I accord not.  
Because that I have read *Selines* for *Megara* called *Nisea*,  
which is not many miles from *Athens*. Furthermore in dis-  
course with a native of *Peloponnesus*, who lived many years in  
that City, I had no other appellation from him then *Ateene*,  
wh<sup>ch</sup> others write *Satina*, corrupted, as *Portus* & *Meursius* tru- d In *Hodæp.*  
ly think, for eis Ἀθῆναις. Nay a *Hugo Favolius* who was there Byz. l. 3:  
A 3 himselfe

himselfe even to the same purpose names it *Sethina*.

*Undiq; sic misera nobis spectantur Athenæ,*

*Dedala quas Pallas sese coluisse negaret,*

*Quas, Neptune pater, nunquam tua mænia dicis,*

*Indigenæ Sethina vocant.----*

We wretched *Athenians* round doe view, which now,

Though once ingenious *Pallas* love, 's her shame,

And t'have beene thine, *Neptune*, would'st disavow,

To which the Homebred give *Sethina* name.

## C A P. II.

*Athenarum situs.* Ἀθ. πόλις. Ἀκρόπολις. *Herbæ lucentes, Murus, Pelasgicus & Cimonius, Propylæa. Circinus veteris urbis, & novæ. ἡ ἀνω & ἡ κάτω πόλις. Piræi brachia. Murus Phalericus. Portæ. Aer. Laus passim apud scriptores. Cephissus Fluvius.*

<sup>b</sup> In Panath.  
p. 171, 172.

**G**reece, saies <sup>b</sup> *Aristides*, is placed in the midst of the whole earth, and in the midst of it stands *Attica*; the navell whereof is *Athens*, by which all Greece, closeted in the wombe of time, receaved nourishment, before an happy birth had brought her forth into the light. She is seated upon a very high rock, which habitations doe encompass, as <sup>c</sup> *Strabo*: on the top of which stands that renowned fabrick even to this day, which *Cecrops* from himselfe names <sup>\*</sup> *Cecropia*; of old Ἀθῆναι, the City, by a kind of excellence, in a bravado of their antiquity, concerning which they were in perpetuall contention with the *Argivi*. Witnesse <sup>d</sup> *Pausanias*. <sup>e</sup> *Terent*, *An in astu venit?* Donat. Sic *Athenienses urbem suam vocabant*, unde ipsi incolæ Ἀθηναῖοι vocantur. So, saith he, the *Athenians* called their City, whence the Citizens themselves are called *athoi*. After that they called it πόλις, Which in his time was called Ἀκρόπολις or the high City, although it be often interpreted *Arx* a Castle; which

<sup>c</sup> Lib. 9. pag. 396.

<sup>\*</sup> Plin. Nat. hist. l. 7. c. 56.

<sup>d</sup> In Att. pag. 12. l. 16.  
<sup>e</sup> Eunuch. act. 5. sc. 6.

<sup>f</sup> Attic. p. 24. l. 43.

which ever were sacred to *Minerva*, as <sup>a</sup> *Aristides*. Who <sup>g</sup> Orat. in Mil. therefore is by *Catullus* in his *Argonauticks* named *Diva* <sup>h</sup> *reus*. <sup>i</sup> *Tom. 1. p. 21.*  
*tinens in summis urbibus arces. The Goddesse that keepes the Turrets of Cities.* This onely now remaines, the succour and shelter of the barbarous *Athenians*, being strongly furnished with men and armes, in which alone dwell Janizaries, to the number of seven hundred thousand, as *Christophero Angelo* told me, and avouched it, I fearing least he had mistaken the number. As for the forces thereof <sup>a</sup> *Hugo Favolius* shall <sup>k</sup> *Hodocp.* <sup>l</sup> *Byz. l. 3.*  
thus instruct you,

*Arx tantum celebris hoc tempore montis eodem*

*Quæque impôta iugo est, vastas prospectat in undas*

*Æquoris, & circum dispersa mapalia, & omnes*

*Externo indigenas nocuuntur ab hoste,*

*Nobilis arx, toto qua non est altera Graïo*

*Nota magis regno, validisque instructior armis,*

*Ignivomôque magis tormentorum impete tuta.*

A Castle onely famous at this day;

Set on an hill, below which views the sea.

The scattered thatcht sheds, that stand it about,

The fort defends, and keeps invasion out,

And natives safe. A fort; none noted more

In Greece, which hath a better warlike store,

Or it for fiery Canons goes before.

Upon the toppe of this Turret stand the fashions of Halfe Moones most rarely gild'd, after the manner of the *Ismaelites*, who have the Moone in no small honour, as my much honoured Mr <sup>b</sup> *Selden* hath observed. Of which Lunulets thus speaks *Favolius*,

*Cujus inæstratis longe rutilantia Lunis*

*Ardua calivagas serium fastigia nubes.*

Whose tops with gilded Moones aspiring high,

Doe knock the Clouds the pilgrims of the skie.

Neither may it passe obscurely which I have taken up, being let fall from the mouth of an eye witnesse; namely, that

<sup>b</sup> De Diis Syris, Syn. 2. cap. 2. p. 288.

on the side of this hill, on which the *Acropolis* is built, grows a certain kind of hearb, that farre off, in the night season, gives a most shining and glittering light, to which when a man shall approach, he shall discern nothing but the hearb it selfe. Of which matter I seriously wish that I could testify the truth. It was delivered to me, *bona fide*, with good credit. The walls that environ this, are none now, saies *Favolitus*, but in former time it hath beene well fenced; some part thereof erected by those two *Tuscan* brothers, who leaving their country, lived here under the *Acropolis*, called *Παλαρκοί*, *Pelargi*, *Storkee*, *δὲ τῶν πάλω*, for their wandring: a *Sirabo*: the *Pliny* saies their names were *Euryalus* and *Hyperbius*: the two that first built houses of brick at *Athens*, when formerly they had Caves for dwelling places. But by the authority of *Pausanias*, though the Printers and Scribes have done both that Author, and the persons wrong, in putting a false name upon one of them, I will doe them none. Read then *Latrarius domus constituerunt primi Agrolas & Hyperbius fratres Athenis*, &c. *c Pausanias*. *οὗτοι δ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ὑπερβίων*. From these was that part which they edified called *Pelargicum*. *Aristophanes* in *Audibus*.

*Τίς δ' ἄν καθεῖξεν τὸ πόλεως τὸ Πισαφρονῶν;*  
The other part of the *Acropolis* which was left naked, *Cimon* the sonne of *Miltiades* clothed. *Pausanias* in the fore quoted place. These walls admitted no gate but one, so rarely beautified with that costly *Propyleum* or porch, on which *Pericles* was discommended by a *Demetrius Phalareus* for disbursing so great a summe of money. *c* For which he was not smally troubled how he might give up his accounts to the people; His Nephew *Alcibiades* therefore seeing him somewhat sad, and demanding the cause, to whom when his unke replied, that it was about giving his accounts, seek rather, quoth he, how you may not give them. By which counsell the *Athenians* were entangled with that neighbour war against the *Lacedæmonians*, in which they found not vacancy for an audit.

By

By the way it shal be fit to acquaint you with thus much, that it was not permitted to a dog to enter into the *Acropolis*, as *Plutarch* *δὲ τὸ ἀκοῦσαι καὶ ἀπαύδαι* it may bee, for his heat in *Veneri* and ill favour. Goats likewise, saies *Varro*, came not thither, unlesse for a necessary sacrifice once, least they should hurt the *Olive* which is said first to have sprung up there. The circuit of this *Acropolis* is said to be threescore stadia. Now a *Stadium* is about some six hundred & twenty five feet, eight of which make a mile, it being the custome of the ancient Greeks, so to measure the length or distance of grounds, or Cities, by the *stadia*. The first City then is contained in seven miles and an halfe. But at this were added more houseable to make a City of themselves. And so indeed were they distinguished by *ἡ ἄνω καὶ ἡ κάτω πόλις*. The upper and lower City. *h Plutarch*, *ἥντι καὶ πρὸς θαλάσσιον* *h In Phoc. p. 549. l. 47.* *περιέντες τὴν ἄνω πόλιν διαφύλαττοι*. Note here moreover, in the reading of your Greek Authors, that when you meet with *τὸ ἄνω* in the description of a Countrey, you presently must conceive the higher part, if it be *τὸ κατω*, a *Thucydides*. *Ἐφελον τὸ δ' ἀλλήλους τὸ καὶ ἄλλαν ὅσους ὄντες ἡ θαλάσσιος καὶ πῶν*. And they preyed upon each other, and among the rest who were not addicted to the sea, yet lived below, understand neare the sea, *Schol.* *κατω ἢ πρὸς ἑγγυς ἡ θαλάσσιος*. The *τὸ ἄνω* then, and *τὸ κατω* knit together made but one joynt corporation; both as it were uniting *Piræum* unto themselves, tooke up, as *Dion Chrysostome* writes, two hundred *Stadia*, which is about five and twenty miles. Upon which place; *Morellus* produces a *Scholias*t testifying that the walls were *μικρὴν τε καὶ μέγαν* *ἐν* fifteen miles save one furlong. Where I wonder that the learned man had not eftssoon perceived the number to have been corrupt, and written *xx* for *xxv*, twenty five for fifteen. For so it ought to be, Neither is it strange that it had so large bounds. For consider that from *Piræum* to *Athens* were reckoned five miles, as you may see in *c Pliny*, from *Athens* *c Nat. hist. l. 2* to *Phalerum*, and so to the other side of *Piræum* foure miles *c 85*.

B

and

\* Fine feet make a pace, and a thousand paces a mile. *Isidor. Orig. lib. 15. c. 16.*

a Lib. 1. p. 6. a

b Orat. 6.

a Lib. 9. pag. 397.  
b Nat. hist. l. 7. c. 56.

c In Attic. p. 36. l. 34.

d Tull. Off. l. 2.  
e Val. Max. lib. 3. c. 1.

and a quarter: The utmost wall of which *Thucydides* speaks in his second book consisted of five miles a quarter & halfe. The girdle of *Pyreum* and *Munychia* had seven miles and an halfe more. All which being put together make up but twenty two miles one quarter and one furlong. But *Dion Chrysostom* must be here understood; and it behoves us to conceive that he spake not barely of the naked walls, for then it cannot hold: but I suppose some houses to have been without walls, as he saies, ὅς τις οὐκ ἐκείνην τὴν πόλιν ἐξυπαρτα. In which I appeale to more judicious heads. Neither can I silently passe by the opinion of *Iohn Meursius*, who reading in *Pausanias*, these words, ἡ Ἀθηνῶν πόλις ἑξήκοντα στάδια ἐκείνη, ὅς τις οὐκ ἐκείνην τὴν πόλιν ἐξυπαρτα, should presently obtrude to us, that *Pausanias* teaches, that the wall called *Phalericus* is but twenty stadia or two mile and an halfe. When indeed he meant nothing lesse. For speaking of salt Springs, which he calls θαλάσσιον κώματα, he seems to involve a reason drawn from the neerenesse of the sea. For when he writes of this brackish well. Among the Athenians, the Sea which comes up neere *Phalerus*, is distant from the City but twenty stadia at the most, quoth he. Where *Amaeus* had thus strangely doted. *Athens* & *Phalero* abjunt stadia haud amplius XX. And that this was the meaning of the Author, proves that which followes. He might have likewise considered that αἶψα with a Dative case signifies not only *juxta* and *prope* as I have translated it; but *supra* sometimes, which will now serve better. And *Meursius* indeed blames the number; but fees not into the words. Now it is not needlesse that the two walls, which joynes *Pyreum* and *Athens* at so long a distance, be somewhat spoken of, seeing they are reckoned by a *Livie* among the multa visenda, Many things worthy of sight at Athens. These are the μακρὰ τεῖχος, in *b* *Propertius*, These brachia longa via. *c* *Appian* of *Alexandria*, μακρὰ τεῖχος, and *d* *Plutarch* in *Cimone*. One lying towards the North, of which *c* *Plutarch*. The other toward the South,

d Loco citato

e In Archad.

p. 244. l. 27.

f Att. Lect. 1.

3. c. 4.

a Lib. 37.

b Lib. 3. Eleg.

19. p. 192.

c In bello

Mith. p. 125.

1.9.

d Pag. 355. l.

e In Pericle.

p. 115. l. 20.

In height about forty Cubits, as *Appian* testifies. These are called διὰ μέσων τεῖχων by *Dion Chrysostom*, because *Athens* being at one end, and *Pyreum* at the other, these were drawne forth between. And when writers speake of Νότον διὰ μέσων τεῖχων, it may be conjectured that it is for distinction of that Νότον τεῖχος in the *Acropolis* which *Cimon* built, witness *Pausanias* in *Attic. p.* *Aristophanes* seems to bring authority for an opinion that *Themistocles* built these. In *Equitibus*.

τὸν Περικλῆα ἀπεστήμαζεν.

Which his *Scholias* affirms. τὸν δὲ Περικλῆα Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀπέσβαλε τῇ πόλει. For *Themistocles* added *Pyreum* to the City, we read in *Probus* that he was the only agent in walling the City, & that he so hastned the accomplishing, that they were faine to be as it were sacrilegious, and make use of materials formerly consecrated to the edifying of Temples, and Monuments of the dead. But *Plutarch* gaine-saies this, and that he did only πῶς πῶς ἐξάγειν τὰ περιώς, ἡ πῶς γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης, conjoyne the City & *Pyreum*, and put the land to take acquaintance with the Sea. It seems somewhat forward before. However, so fenny was the ground it was founded upon, that the worke soon came to great reparation, which *Cimon* the sonne of *Miltiades* undertook. For which stones of an huge weight and lime, he made the earth so firm that it could not give. Nay he was so liberall, that he did out of his own expences to great favours, to a people that some years after gratified him with exile. Neither did he only mend the breaches; but in after time finished the whole work, so that he may truly be said to be the founder of them. Let us now come to the Gates of the City. *Meursius* hath observed tenne, but I feare they will scarce suffice to such a vast City. Take these. *Dipylon* or *Thrasia* the fairest of all, placed as it were in the front of the City, saies *Livie*, major aliquanto-potentiorq; quam ceteræ est, greater somewhat and wider then the rest. Hence I suppose named *Dipylon* as if it were as big as two Gates. Περικλῆα. *Pi-*

f In Mith. p. 124. l. ult. g Orat. 6.

h In Attic. p. 19. l. 8. i P. 337.

k P. 338. A. co. 2. l In Them. p. 27.

m In Them. p. 87. l. 25. n Plut. in Cim. p. 355. l. 14.

o Plut. p. 355. l. 12. unless τὸ ὑπερῶν

p. 87. l. 25. n Plut. in Cim. p. 355. l. 14.

q These walls may have respect to Conon who after the victory at Cnidus erected these walls

r As Paulan. in Atticis p. 2. l. 14. I would receive my selfe

s Or the Reader. \* Attic. Lect. p. Dec. 4. l. 1.

t P. 11. A.



raica. Neere the Temple of Chalcodon. Here were buried some of those that died in fight with the Amazons in the time of Theseus. <sup>a</sup> Plutarch. *Ἰππιδῆς*. Hippades. Where the bones of Hyperides the famous Orator rest with his progenitors, who being racked under Amipater, chose rather to bite off his tongue, then to divulge the secrets of his Country. <sup>b</sup> *Ἰεῖς*, Sagittæ. The sacred gate. We read of this in <sup>c</sup> Theophrastus Characters but to my great admiration, that the Eagle-lighted Caubon had not espied a fault. For though it be true that there were such gates at Athens as *Ἰεῖς*, yet is there any that ever read *ἡ τὰς Ἰεῖς πύλας ἔχοντο* *ἡ τὰς πύλας*, the dead to have bin carried out to buriall through the sacred gate? It makes not any thing that it was spoken to a stupid fellow, for they spak not as our vulgar doe, such as, *When Christmas comes out of Wales*. Write then *Hela*, *Hela* are the gates at which they went forth with their corps at the solemnizations of their obsequies, the reason of which shall be spoken hereafter. <sup>d</sup> Demosthenes, *Ἀργεῶν πύλας*. The gate of Argens. It seems to have been in Delphinium where he dwelt; whence the Hermes or Image towards the East end of the Temple was called *Ἄργεῖος*. <sup>e</sup> The statue at the gates of Argens *Μελιτιδῆς*. Melitides. Where lyes Thucydides the sonne of Olorus that wrote the Peloponnesian Warre, who after his returne into his Country from banishment, was treacherously murdered, his Sepulcher stands neere these gates. <sup>f</sup> *Πανλάνιος*. *Κεραμικῆς*. Ceramica. The Gates in Ceramicus, where many of the Lacedemonians were buried, which died in the seditious warre that Thrasylbulus made against the Thirty Tyrants. <sup>g</sup> Xenophon. *Διοχάρους*. Diochares. The Gates of Diochares. Of whom I have nought to speake. *Ἀχαρνῶν*. The Acharnan Gates. I suppose they were called so from that Towne or Village neere, named Acharnia, to which it is probable it looked. For so did the ancients dame their Gates from the Towne to which they were neere. The Romans their Porta Collatina from

from Collatia, a Burge not farre off And happily it is so here, as also in *Ἰθυῖα* Diomeas; for Dionus is a people of Athens not any great matter distant from the City. *Θεσπία* Thracia. These are all that I ever met with named: others there are obscurely pointed at by <sup>a</sup> Pausanias, as that neere the Gallery which from its various draughts they call *Παῖς*, where is the effigies of Mercurie Agoræus in brasle. And others about the beginning of his Attica, of which I had better hold my peace then speake as good as nothing. Thus have we found twelve Gates; which being opened enter; sucke that sweet ayre, whose excellent purity brought forth such acute wits, <sup>b</sup> & prepared with a most happy bounty understanding judgements for contemplation. Whence <sup>c</sup> Euripides may well straine to this note, that *Venus* sitting neere, and adorning her selfe, sends forth continually *Cupids* of Learning <sup>d</sup> *Ἄρτις*. Well may he blesse that climate stiling it *Ἀμυγδαλῶν* *ἄλδῆς*, which hath been the Mother of the Muses, by the leave of *Mnemosyne* or at least the Nurse to them, for there are they said to have travelled with *Harmodia*; as if there were no such melodious consent, as in the Sciences. Let not <sup>e</sup> Theophrastus assest all Greece to lye under the same temperature and disposition of the heavens, when at this day it may be spoken, as once *Aristides* did of it. <sup>f</sup> No coast so truly void of all earthly dreggs, and participating more of the celestially and defecated ayre. Not unworthily hath *Sophocles* been lavish in expressions. <sup>g</sup> *Ἰσχυρὸς*, & *Ἰσχυρὸς* most Renowned, <sup>h</sup> *Ἰσχυρὸς* Happy, <sup>i</sup> *Ἰσχυρὸς* Sacred Athens. <sup>k</sup> *Ἰσχυρὸς* full, <sup>l</sup> Much spoken of. <sup>m</sup> *Ἰσχυρὸς*. To the making up of her delight comes to all the river *Cephissus*, which is able to bear vessells of a good burthen, as I have been informed, but the Turks fearing least it might be advatagious to any enemy that might invade the, have cut it into many & sundry little streams, damming up with an innumerable quantity of stones the mouth of the river for a mile in length. Thinking they have sufficiently prevented, which they did but suppose could happen.

## CAP. III.

Ἀττικοὶ, Ἀθωτικοί, Mores, & Ingenia. τὴ μὴ ἀδραβεῖν. Quantum hodierni differunt à veteribus; & qualem vitæ rationem modumq; habent.

Ἰν βίῳ Ἐλ.  
ἀδδδρ. 196

THE Athenians by <sup>1</sup>Dicæarchus are divided into two sorts, Ἀττικοί, Atticos, and Ἀθωτικοί. Of which though there were no difference in latter times, yet certainly of old there was. Inſomuch as one of the puniſhments, which the Athenians are ſaid to inflict upon their women (for the appealing of Neptune, bringing in an inundation upon their fields to their great damage, in anger conceived for loſſe of the Title of the City) was this, <sup>m</sup> That none ſhould after call them Ἀθωτικὸς, Athenians, but Ἀττικὸς Atticos. A revenge I ſuppoſe opprobrious enough. For thus writes my Author. 'Οἱ μὲν δὲ ἐπερροι καὶ λαλιῶς ὕπατοι, συκφανῶδες, παρατηρηταὶ καὶ ξενικῶν βίων. Curious Babblers, Deceitfull, Calumniators, Obſervers of the lives of ſtrangers. Πτελερροι τῆς λαλιᾶς. A ſufficient witneſſe of this is <sup>a</sup> Luke, that ſaies, they did regard nothing more then to heare and ſpeake novelty. To which end they often met in Barbers ſhops, where all the news, that was going in thoſe daies, was current. Hence ſay we verba in *Tonſtrinis proculcata*: and in Greeke κατὰ τοὺς κυρτέους λόγους, <sup>b</sup> Ariſtophanes.

m Varro apud  
Aug. de Civ.  
Dei l. 18. c. 9.

a Act. 17.

b In Plato p.  
38.

Κατὰ τοὺς λόγους γ' ὡς, νη καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, πολὺς  
ἐπὶ ταῖς κυρτέοις καὶ συμφοραῖς  
ὡς ὕδατινος ἀνὴρ γέγονεν πλέσιον.

They that ſate in the Barbers ſhops did talke much that he was ſuddenly grown rich The Scholiaſt ſeems to take the meaning as if the Comædiâ had quipped them for reſorting to Barbers and neglecting Barber Chirurgions of better credit. But I ſee no reaſon. They met in both to prattle. <sup>c</sup> *Ælian* ſaith. But I ſee no reaſon. They met in both to prattle. <sup>c</sup> *Ælian* ſaith. *Κατὰ τοὺς λόγους ἐν ταῖς κυρτέοις, καὶ κακῶς ἀγορεύειν ἐν παντί* <sup>d</sup> *Ælian*

c Var. hiſt. l.  
3. c. 7.

ἀνὴρ. Sitting in a Chirurgions ſhop, ſcandalous, & thirſty to ſpeak ill by all meanes. ὅπουλοι men Italianated, who can ſmile, even when they cut your throat. Such as *Thiophraſtus* Cap. περὶ ſτῆς hath in his Characters drawn out, who can be affable to their enemies, and diſguiſe their hatred in commendation, while they privily lay their ſnares; that ſalute with mortall embraces; and claſp you in thoſe armes, which they meane to embrew in your deareſt blood. In ſumme, faire without, but rotten within, like a wound which is healed above and ſeemes ſound, but putrifies under the ſkin. And ſo much the word doth import. *Συκοφαντῶδες*. Given to falſe accuſations. The <sup>e</sup> Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* writes, that it being forbidden to carry Figs out of *Athens*, and ſome nevertheless the decree being abſolute againſt it, preſuming fo to doe, they ſet rogues in the gates that did appeach them, (as <sup>f</sup> *Plutarch* likewiſe) Hence came this word to be uſed for <sup>g</sup> In *Solone* any crafty knave that gets his living by promooti-  
<sup>g</sup> *Xenophon* *κοφαντίας* ζῶν. One that meddles in every mans affaires, and therefore <sup>h</sup> *Ariſtophanes* hath ſicly brought one upon the ſcene terming himſelfe an *Overſeer* both of private and publick matters. If then ſuch a perſon had eſpied any tripping, and gotten him on the hip, he would as ſure have fetched him over for his coyne, as any *Summoner* doth a perſon delinquent towards the ſheſh, or any Lawyer a credulous client, & having well plumed him, afterwards gives him a dimiſſory. *Εκείνοι (Sycophants) μὲν γὰρ παρ' ἐν χρημάτων λαμβάνουσιν ζῆλον*. *Xenophon*. Such were many in *Athens*, inſomuch that *Ariſtote* being asked what *Athens* was, answered, *πασχέλη*, All beautiful, ἀλλ' ὁκνη ἐπ' ὁκνη *ſπεῖται* οὐκον δ' ἐπὶ οὐκον. in a verſe of <sup>i</sup> *Homer* in the deſcription of *Alicious* garden, but peares grew a *Οὐδαν*. ripe after peares, & figges after figges, meaning a continuall ſucceſſion of Sycophants. This made *Iſocrates* the Orator to compare the City to a *Curtizan*, with whom few there were but would have to doe, yet none dare take to wife; affirmi-  
it to be the beſt place to ſojourne in, but the worſt to inhabit.

By

By reason of their Sycophants & treacheries of nimble tongued Orators. Παρρησιαὶ δὲ ξενικῶν βίαν. I was once halfe in an opinion that these words were to have been, put to the former thus, συκοφαντικὰς Παρρησιαὶ δὲ ξενικῶν βίαν. And I think the fence will runne well, Malitious observers of the lives of strangers. The Athenians were φιλόξενοι and heid hospitallity sacred, and I doubt not but they had that Law. That Forrainers should receive no wrong, ἵνα μὴ ἀδικῶν. Socrates in Xenophon. Now he discommends the Ἀττικοὶ as ready to trouble and vex strangers in Law, duly marking & bearing an eye unto them to take them at an advantage: As for the Athenienses they were Μεγαλόθυροι ἀπλῶς τοῖς ἑταῖς φίλιας γνώσοι φύλακες, Brave spirited, single dealing, and faithfull friends. But as the words were at length confounded, so did their manners degenerate, growing into ἀναμαλιαν & εὐδοίᾳ, an Irregularity of nature. As Polybius. No μεγαλόθυρα afterwards, but haughtinesse of spirit, magnanimity now fallen. And when d Livy saies ex vetere fortuna nihil præter animos servare, he means, they had nothing left but those proud spirits; which their ancient flourishing fortune had puffed up. No ἀπλῆτης, or simplicity, no e Lamb like innocency, or mildnesse, but as f Plutarch speaks, People rashly angry, soone pittisfull, rather inclined sharply to take opinion, then quietly to be enformed. And as they are ready to helpe base and abject Peasants, so friendly do they entertain childish and ridiculous toys, rejoying in their own praises, and nothing moved with scurrility, fearefull and terrible even to their Gvernours, humane towards their enemies. Not unsiely then e Valerius Maximus, Quantam ergo reprehensionem merentur, &c. How deserve they to be blamed, who though they had just Laws, yet had they most wicked disposition, and chose rather to take their own courses, so great was it, that to expresse a count for their impudence, so great was it, that to expresse a countenance void of shame, the Comædian hath put Ἀττικὸν βλέπον, an Athenian look, in b Nubibus φίλιας γνώσοι φύλακες, so accounted in the time of a Patersulus, that what was done in sincerity and

b Απομ. ημ.  
c. p. 428.

c Lib. 6.

d Dec. 4. p. 7.  
l. 1.

e Aristoph. p. 694.  
f Πολιτ. περ. 387.

g Lib. 5. c. 3.  
p. 207.

h Pag. 189. B.  
d Lib. 2. p. 47.

culture, that what was done in sincerity and faithfull trust, the Romans would say, it was performed *sive Attica*, with an Athenian loyalty. Fear and power might make them trusty, but how they brake their leagues, tooke part with other Islanders against confederates, and violated the lawes of armes, Historians are not dumb. As for their wrath, it was *deponens* e, ever mindfull, as b *Virgil. memor ira*. And the hatred they prosecuted the Barbarians withall was so unquenchable, that it burned against c all Barbarians for the Persians sake; and they forbad them their sacrifices, as they used to doe murderers among them. Where you must note, that all that were not Grecians were called of them Barbarians. But loe! How are they now become all Barbarous! whether or no people of *Africa*, or some of the *Catelan*, I cannot justly tell; *Mahumedans* all, poore and miserable, living by rapine, or fishing, or tilling the earth: d *Fa-* d *Hodsep.* *volius*, *Duraq. coacti* Byz. l. 3.

*Pauperie assuerunt vitam tolerare rapina.*  
*Aut passim instant furto, raptoq, propinqua*  
*Aequora pirate, sed quæ pars equior, hamis*  
*Fallit inescatos tereti sub arundine pisces.*  
*Aut desolatus exercet vomere terras,*  
*Semper inops, misera, infelix, rerum omnium egena.*  
Opprest with need they doe their life sustaine  
By rapine, and annoy the neighbour maine  
By pillaging. Who are most just and good  
With angling doe the silly fish delude;  
Or plough the grounds made desolate before,  
Unhappy, wretched, miserable, still poore.

C

CAP.

## C A P. IV.

De populi divisione, Εὐπατριῶται, Γεωμωροί, Διμωροί. Πεντακοσίοιμοι, ἱππεῖς. Ζεῦγίται. Θῆτες. Quid Atheniensibus cum Ægyptiis commune.

**T**Here were at first but two kinds of people in Athens, two orders quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunæq; aliquid interlucebat, in which there was a difference of dignity and fortune: such as at this day are in France, either Peers or Peasants; or as in Venice, Patricians and Plebeians. And although Pollux call them τρία ἴσθι, three sorts, yet I make but two, because the γεωμωροί were not any way more gentile for bloud, surpassing for riches, or happy for life. But because he hath so set them, take them thus, as he speaks. <sup>a</sup> τρία ἴσθι θύον <sup>a</sup> Pollux l. 8. Εὐπατριῶται, Γεωμωροί, Διμωροί. Εὐπατριῶται, Εὐπατρίδαι, πεδαι. Εὐπατριῶται, Γεωμωροί, Διμωροί. <sup>b</sup> Εὐπατριῶται, Εὐπατρίδαι, πεδαι. <sup>c</sup> In Solone. <sup>d</sup> Plutarch writes; the Pedæi to an Oligarchy, and the Paralæi between both, and had chosen Solon to arbitrate and determine

mine the matter; he made these four ranks. Πεντακοσίοιμοι, ἱππεῖς, Ζεῦγίται, Θῆτες. Pentacosmedimnos, Equites, Zeugitæ, Thetæ. Pentacosmedimni were those who ἐν ἐνεγίς ὁμῶς ὕζοις, could make five hundred measures in wet and dry commodities alike: What Possardus then brings out of Varro concerning modium, hath no place here; for he supposes that Pentacosmedimnus was he that had as much ground as fifty Medimni could suffice to sow: but here I will confute him with a wet finger. ἐν ὕζοις. For he seems to sow upon the waters. This is he whom the Elzevirii printed at Leyden Anno 1635, under the name of Postellus, who was sometime a Professor of Tongues in France, and Author of the Treatise De Magistratibus Atheniensium. Equites were such as were of ability to keep an horse, or had the quantity of three hundred measures in dry, and as many in wet: called likewise ἱππεῖς. Zeugitæ were such as could of wet and dry in all make but three hundred. Any of these three could beare office in the Commonwealth. A fourth rank which he called Θῆτες, Thetæ, a name from servility, which had no power in the rule of the weal publike. But it had not been amiss if I had shewn how the Ægyptians had divided their people into three classes, as the Athenians did, as I have spoken above. For the first degree, or Εὐπατρίδαι, addicted to learning and study, who were had in greater honour, answer to the Ægyptian Priests. Nay those great houses in Athens had Priesthood by succession, as Eumolpidae, Ceryces, Cynide: for P. 8. l. 18. out of the stock were chosen Priests; hence ἱερωσύνη ἐν ἱσθί in Demosthenes. The Geomori who had lands assigned to them for the maintenance of the warre, are not dislike them in Ægypt, who hold possessions on these tearmes, namely, to provide souldiers when need shall require to fight. The Demurgi resemble those Plebeians, who skilfull in some art, did set out their labour to daily hire: as Diodorus Siculus can testify.

C A P. V.

Τριβὺς quatuor sub Cecrope. Mutata eorum nomina. Augentur à  
Clisthene: duæ additæ. Φεαγρία. Φεαγρῆς. Τελίος. Γένθ.  
Τριβὺς Κοινοῦτα, Φυλετικῶν, Φεαγρῶν.

IN Athens there were but four tribes under the rule of Cecrops. Cecropis, Autocthon, Allææ, Paraliæ; which had other names put to them, Cranaïs, Anthi, Meljææ, Diacri. I suppose from the parts of Attica; it lying partly near the sea; thence Allææ; partly hilly, thence Diacri; partly Meditterrane, thence Meljææ; the other name from the King that was then: Whether the King would honour the Tribe so much, or the Tribe glory in the name of the King, I know not: it is probable that it was an honour to their governour; for as Cecrops gave the first names, Cranaus the second, each assuming a title to himselfe, Erichoniuss called them after the name of Jupiter, Pallas, Neptune, Vulcan. Διός, Ἀθηνᾶς, Ποσειδῶνος, Ἡφαιστού. But when Ion came to rule, they were named after his four sonnes, Geleontes, Ægicorais, Argades, Hopletes, as a Herodotus and b Euripides; though Plutarch saies that they were so called ἐκ τῶν ἡρώων, ἐκ δὲ ἀποχρίσεων διὰ τὸς τοὺς ἡρώων, from the courtes of life which they first took. But Clisshenes, a man factious and wealthy, is said by the Council of an Apollo, Alcmeon being Archon, to make ten of them, changing the ancient titles, and taking new from some Deities, A. migods or Heroes born in that land, all except Ajax, whom, though a stranger, he puts to the rest, as a neighbour and companion: c Herodotus. These then were called τὰ πέντε μύαι; as you would say, giving names; the word so signifies sometimes, as Minerva is said by Dion Chrysostom τὰ πέντε μύαι; Ἀθηνᾶς, who gave the name to Athens. To these were erected Statues near the Councell place of the Senat. Their names are these p. 4. as f Pansanius hath them, Hippothoon, Antiochus, Ajax Telamonius,

nus, Leo, Erechtheus that slew Immaradus the Sonne of Ennolpus in the Eleusinian warre, Ægeus, Oeneus, Acamius, Cecrops, Pandion. From these ἱερμεδοντες, ἄντιοις, Αἰδωνίς, Δαονίς, Ὀρνίς, Ἀρχαγαντίς, Κεκροπίς, Πανδιονίς. To which they put two more, one called after Antigonus, the other after Demetrius his name, in gratuity to them for the favours received, which in processe of time they changed into Attalis, and Ptolemæis, as Stephanus writes, διὰ τῶν ἐπωνυμιῶν εὐερσίνε πάντες βασιλεῶν, having been curiously entreated by the Kings bearing that name. Which being so, let us take heed that Livie deceive us not, who at the time when Attalus did succor the Athenians against Philip, saies they first thought of adding that Tribe to the ten, in thanksgiving that the Rhodii rescued four fighting ships of the Athenians taken by the Macedonians, and sent them home. <sup>a</sup> Tum primum mentio illata de tribu quam Attalida appellarent, ad decem veteres tribus addenda. Thus have we seene that there were twelve Tribes in all: Let us look back to the first institution. I suppose they were first ordained for the better administration of civill government. <sup>b</sup> Eustathius writes, that they were divided in imitation of the year; the four Tribes according to the four quarters; <sup>c</sup> each Tribe into three Fraternities, which they call τετρίαι, or τετραίαι, answerable to the twelve Months; each τετραίαι, or τετρίαι, into thirty γῆν, or kindreds, equalizing the daies. For so many only had the year of old. Witnesse the Riddle of <sup>c</sup> Cleobulus concerning the year;

Εἰς πατὴρ, παῖδες ὃ δαδίδεχα ἦδ' ὃ ἐχάσω·  
Παῖδες τεύκοντα· διαδίδεχα εἶδ' ὃ ἐχυσαι.

One Father had twelve Sons, and each son thirty daughters, and every daughter black and white, meaning daies and nights. Over these were governours, *φυλοβασίλεις*, Kings of the Tribes, who fate upon controversies between party and party of their own Tribes. Each Tertian also had his overseer, called *Τετάρυχη* ☉, the Ruler of the *Tritius* or *Phratia*. The word may seeme to signifie a Society, Fellowship, or

\* These are reckoned among the Epimynos in Paus. p. 5. who had Statues likewise. a Decad. 4. l. 1. p. 6.

и 4 Decad. 4.  
1. 1. p. 6.

f b In Il.b.pag.  
181.

c Laertius p.  
63. l. 1.

C<sub>3</sub>

Company.



late Populos, better in my minde oppida or Townes. Cicero ad <sup>b</sup> Atticum. Venio ad Piræa in quo magis reprehendendus sum, quod homo Romanus Piræa scripserim, non Piræum (sic enim omnes nostri locuti sunt) quam quod M addiderim. Non enim hoc ut oppido præposui, sed ut loco: & tamen Dionysius noster, qui est nobiscum, & Nicus Com, non rebatur oppidam esse Piræa, sed de eo bipido locutus sum, sed ut de loco: secutusq; sum non dico Cæcilium, Mane ut ex portu in Piræum (malus enim auctor Latinitatis est) sed Terentium cuius fabellæ propter elegantiam sermonis putabantur à <sup>c</sup> Caio Lelio scribi. Heri aliquot adolescentuli coimus in Piræum, & idem, Mercator hoc addebat captam de Sunio. Quod si <sup>d</sup> *ἡμῶν* oppida volumus esse, tam est oppidum Sunium quam Piræus. If so be we will have *ἡμῶν* to be Townes, Sunium as well as Piræus is a Towne. These were formerly Kingdomes as <sup>e</sup> Pausanias testifies. Γέγραπται ὅτι Μῆροι, ἦσαν τὴν δὴ μῶν εἰς ἑκάστην πόλιν, ὡς καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐβασίλειον τοῦ τῆς Κέρκυρας. Moreover, I have written, that some of the townes were governed by a King before the raigne of Cecrops: And no marvell, for some of them farre surpassed other Cities, as Aristides affirmeth. These were most peculiar to the Athenians, anciently called *πανκλειοί*, as <sup>f</sup> Aristoph. Schol. or *πανκλειοί*, as <sup>g</sup> Pollux, twelve belonging to every Tribe. But Clisphenes changed them into *ἡμῶν*, as out of Aristotles Schol. of Aristoph. The number of them is, as <sup>h</sup> Eustathius out of Strabo, and <sup>i</sup> Casaubon, an hundred seventy foure. Some whereof having the same name, are distinguished according to their situations, καὶ ὡς περὶ τῶν καὶ ὡς περὶ τῶν, as we may say the upper and the lower Wakefield, &c. All of them divided into Greater and Lesser. The <sup>j</sup> *μικροί*, or lesse, are these, Alimusii, Zoster, Pessaliu, Anagrasii, Cephale, Prasæis, Lampræis, Phlyeis, Myrinusii, Aihmoneis, Acharne, Marathon, Braurion, Rhamnus. The rest were greater. Take them promiscuous according to their Tribes.

<sup>b</sup> Lib. 7.  
<sup>f</sup> p. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Atticis p.  
33. l. 42.

<sup>d</sup> In Panath.  
T. I. p. 326.  
<sup>e</sup> Nub. pag.  
225. c.  
<sup>f</sup> L. 8. p. 430.  
<sup>g</sup> In II. b. pag.  
215.  
<sup>h</sup> In Athenæ-  
um I. 6. c. 9.

<sup>i</sup> Pausan. Att.  
pag. 30.

## ΚΕΡΟΝΙΣ.

Αἰζώνη. Δαδελίδαι. Επικείδαι. Εὐπύτη. Πίσθη. Συναληγίδες. Τειρεμίδες. Αδμωνὴν ἢ Αδμωνία. Αἰζωνίδες. Φαία. Ἐχονε. Dadatide, Epiecidæ, Xypetæ, Pithiæ, Syalentius, Trinemei, Aihmon or Aihmonia. Ale Ἐχονides. Phlya.

## ΕΡΕΧΘΙΔΕΣ.

Αγροῦλη ἢ Αγρούλη. Ευωνυμία ἢ Ευώνυμος. Θήμακοι ἢ Θήμακοι. Κηφισοί. Λαμπραὶ. Καδύπεδον. Λαμπραὶ. Ὑπερόπιδον ἢ Ὑπερόπιδον. Παμβρόδαι. Περγασή. Συβείδαι. Φηγυῖς. Αγραυροί. Agrale or Agryle. Euonymia or Euonymus. Themaci or Themaci. Cephistæ. The upper Lampra. The lower Lampra, in which Sigonius erres calling one the Maritimate, the other the inferior, which to be one and the same I have shewen above. Pambrotæ. Pergase. Sybride, Phagus. Anagrus.

## ΠΑΡΑΛΙΟΝΙΣ.

Αγγεῖ. Κυδαθναίων. Κύδναρον. Οἶα ἢ Οἶς. Παναγία. Ὑπερόπιδον. Παναγία. Ὑπερόπιδον. Περγαλίον. Στεινὰ. Φηγυῖς. Μυρρινύς. Anigele, Cydatheneum. Cylbarum. Oa or Oeis. The upper Pania, the under Pania. Probalinthas, Siiria. Phæga. Myrrhinus.

## ΑΓΥΝΙΣ.

Αἰζωνίδες. Αεγρῶν. Βατή. Γαρδητῆς. Διομεῖα. Ερεχθίδια. Ελκεῖα. Ἐχονε. Ιαγέλα ἢ Ιαγέλο. Κολυτῆς. Κυδαντίδαι. Πλαδίδ. Τίβεζ. Φηγυῖς. Φιλαιδαι. Χολιδαι. Ale Araphenides. Araphen. Bate. Gargenius. Dionæa. Erethia. Ecticia. Echria. Icaria or Icarus. Ionide. Cobyntus. Cydantiidæ. Plothea. Tibiras. Phæga. Philade. Chollide.

## ΑΚΑΜΑΝΤΙΣ.

Αγνύς. Ερεσιδαι. Ερμῶς ἢ Ερμῶι. Ηραισάδαι. Θόειοι. Ιτα. Κίκωα. Σφητῆς. Χολαργῶ. Χολαργῶ. Χολαργία. Κεφαλή. Περισπατα. Agnus. Eriside. Hermus or Hermi. Hephestiada. Thoricus. Itea. Cicyana. Sphættus. Cholargus Cholargi Cholargia. Cephale. Prophalia.

## ΛΕΟΝΤΙΣ.

Αἰδελίδαι. Αἰδελία. Αφιδνα. Δειρείδες. Εχάλη. Ευπυλιδαι. Κητῶι.

## D

Κερωνία.

Κρατία Λακόνιον. Ὅσιον Κεραμ. Παιονίδα. Πήληκας. Ποταμίδες. Σκαμβονίδα. Σάνιον. Τρεα Τρεάδαι Φριάρροι. Μαράδων. Αλιμύς. Ξιθαλίδα Ξιθαλία. Αφιδάα. Dirades. Syprade. Ceti. ii. Ctopia. Leuconium. Oeum Ceramicum. Pæonide. Peleces. Potamius. Scambonide. Sunium. Hyba Hybade. Phrearii. Marathon. Alimius.

Ἰσοδοῦντις.

Αζυρία. Αμαξαντίς. Ανάκεια. Αχερδύς. Δεκέλια. Ελαδύς Ελαδύς. Ελδύς. Ερειδάα. Θυμοιτιάδαι. Κηειάδαι. Κορυδαλλός. Ὅσιον Δεκέλ. Οινύβ. Ελδύς. Σπονδύλι. Αξενία. Αmaxantea. Αnache. Αcherdus. Decelia. Eleus. Eleusis. Erade. Thymetade. Ceriade. Corydallus. Oeum Decelicum. Oeum ad Eleutheras. Sphendele.

Αποχίς.

Αιγίλια ἢ Αιγίλος. Αλοπύμας. Αμογύλι. Ανάρλυς. Α-πύμας. Βήσας. Βορβ. Κεϊάα. Λακοπύμας. Μελαυνίς ἢ Μελανί. Παλλίον. Παντίδα. Σημαχίδα. Φάλλιον. Αegilia or Αegilus. Alopec or Alopecæ. Amphitrope. Anaphlystus. Aigne or Aignia. Bessa. Thore. Crida. Lemcorra. Meleneis or Melane. Pallene. Peniele. Semachide. Phalerum.

Αιαντίας.

Οινύβ. Μαράδ. Τητακίδα. Τειχορύδ. Ραμύς. Οενοε at Marathon. Titacedæ. Tricorythus. Rhammus. Of this Tribe were some townes taken away and put to other, Aphyna, Perside, &c.

Οινίς.

Βύτεια. Βεσάδα. Εμπερσία. Θέλα ἢ Θέλα. Ιπποτιμάδας. Λακία. Λακιάδα. Λασιό. Μελίον. Ον ἢ Ον. Πεδουίδα. Πτελέα. Φυλή. Αχάνα. Τυρμίδα. Butea, Buteade. Epicephisa. Thria or Thrio. Hippolomada. Lacia, Laciade. Lusta. Melia. Oe or Αα. Peritheide. Pielea. Phyle. Acharna. Tyrmide.

Πολυμύς.

Βερενιίδα. Θυρηνιίδα. Berenicide. Thyrgenide. Κορυδαλλός. Comhyle.

Απολλόν.

Απολλωνίς. Apollonienſes. These are all which Authors make

make mention of according to their Tribes, others there are, which I know not how to distribute, none of the ancients either directing or furnishing me. But these are they. Αgra. Anchesmus. Amphide. Archilia. Astipalea. Atalanta. Α-στροδύς. Belbina. Brannon. Britellus. Erma. Echelide. Zoster. Thron. Cale. Cede. Colocide. Cete. Cynofarges. Ceramius without the City the same with Academia. Laurium. Lenæum. Limna. Munychia. Parnes. Phryx. Panoctis. this ditch or trench. Scitum. Sporgilus. Hydruſa Hymæus. Hyſie. Phakra. Phormissii. Phrius. Phoron. Chitone. Otopus. To which are put the Ilandes, called Pharmacuse, two in number, and Phytallia. The Scholast of Aristophanes speaks as if he were a Demus, but I say not with him! The greatest use we have of these among authors, is in their forme of Law, matters of contracts, and the like, that there might be no fraud or deceite; that none either unjustly be taxed for any thing, or tax another. Hence read we such punctuall clauses in their writs. N. the son of N. dwelling at Alopecæ, ἐν Κολλινῶν Μεσῖταις. ἐν Κεραμῶν, of Cale. of Melite of Ceramæis. In these villages were Temples of the Gods, Live. Temple pagatim sacra. And againe Dehibra sibi fuisse, que quondam pagatim habitantes in parvis illis castellis viſſis, consecrata, ne in unum quidem urbem contributi majores sui deserta relinquerint. So much witnesseth Pausanias, who tells us that they worshipped some peculiar Deity, and yet nevertheless did not abandon their festivalls, as Brannon the solemnities Brannonia, to Diana Diomea to Jupiter Diomeus. Chilonia &c.

In Ranis p. 235.

Dec. 4. l. 1. p. 12. 13.

In Atticis p. 77. l. 40.



Τυραννίς. Ολιγαρχία. Δημοκρατία. Atheniensium status mutatio.  
 Ἰσθμίου Σωτήρων Μένος. Δέξ.

known

b Justin. l. 2.

c Justin. l. 2.

d Heraclides  
in Pol.e Herodotus  
l. 5. p. 135.

knowne, put him selfe amongst the enemies by one of which in a brawle he was murdered. After whom none enjoyed the name of King, *quod memorie nominis ejus tributum est*, which was done in memory to his name. For after that, Archontes or Judges ruled; in the Title, *ἄρχοντες* Archontes, but in power Kings, whose authority was for term of life. These continued three hundred and fiftene yeares. These being ended, it pleased the State to choose a man, whose office should continue but tenne yeares; seaven succeeded each other, & made up the number of severitie yeares; who, because they abused their power, were made but for one yeare, called therefore *c. annui Magistratus*, yearly Magistrates. These continued untill *Pisistratus*, for a fained feare of the seditious, begged a guard of the people for his safety, For when the faction sprung up. Of which I have spoken in the fourth Chapter, he cutting himselfe with lashes, and the Mules which drew his Charot, went into the place of meeting, *ἀγορὰν*, and beseeching the people to afford him some defence against their violence, who did (but did not) assault him, procured a company of chosen Citizens who armed with clubs, not weapons, possessed the Castle, and so Tyranny came in, which *Pisistratus* enjoyed a thirty yeares, and deceased leaving behind him two sons, *Hipparchus*, and *Hippias*, whom *Heraclides* calls *Thessalus*. *Hipparchus* was slaine by *Aristogiton*, after whose death the Athenians lived under a tyranny *c. foure* yeares, from which they were delivered by the help of the Lacedæmonians, the offspring of *Alcæon* corrupting the Oracle, to the end that whensoever they came for counsell he should wish them to free the Athenians of that servitude. The Democratic came in eight hundred sixty eight yeares after *Cecrops*, established by *Solon*, who excluded the fifth rank of plebeitie from office or honour by a law, afterwards abrogated by *Aristides*. After this *Pericles* brought in an Ochlocratie by weakening the power of the *Areopagites*. Then after the overthrow in Sicily

by the *Tesphadonoi* or foure hundred tooke upon them state, deceiving the people, as *f. Aristotle* and *s. Thucydides* affirme. *f. Ptol. l. c. 57.* For perswading them that they should reconcile *Tissaphernes* and *Alcibiades* unto themselves by that meanes, and that the Persian Monarch would afford supply for the war, they most willingly condescended to this motion in the one & twenty yeare of the Peloponensian warre. These Princes were called *πεντακισιοι, τεσπενδοι ἢ ὄντες*, Five thousand, though *a. Plac.* in *Al.* not exceeding foure hundred. The reason is, because they boasted that none should be rewarded, but who bore armes; nor any admitted to publique power but five thousand, such as with person and estate could be beneficiall to the Republique. Their authority was granted by an *b. Act* of the people, *b. Xen. E. 1. c.* to which *Themenes* was very forward, but after they were inducted, none more ready to drive out; whereupon they termed him *κρόσσον Colurnum*, from a kind of start-up which did fit both feet. *κ. ἢ κρόσσον ἀμύρσειν ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσσὶ ἀπορῆσει δυνάμει.* The word may sute with a Jack of both sides. These *τεσπενδοι* were constrained for feare of *d. Alcibiades* to resigne the right unto the people, and to goe into wilfull banishment. But when *Lysander* had overcome *Athens* (the Lacedæmonians ever affecting an Oligarchie, as the Athenians a Democracie) he ordained these thirty to be chiefe. *f. Po. s. c. 7.* *Lyarches, Critias, Melobius, Hippolochus, Euclides, Hiero, f. Xen. E. 1. c. 6.* *Mnesiochus, Chremis, Themenes, Aresias, Diocles, Phadrius, p. 270.* *Cherileos, Anetius, Pifo, Sophocles, Eratosthenes, Charicles, O-nomocles, Theognis, Eschines, Theogenes, Clomedes, Erastriatus, Phido, Draconides, Eumather, Aristoteles, Hippomachus, Mnesibides.* These began at first to put to death the worst and most abhorred, saies *a. Salust.* without trial of law; but afterwards the good and bad alike; *b. some* for envy, others for riches. These to make their party firme chose about three thousand to whom alone they permitted to have weapons, disarming all the rest, to the end they might easily command their lives. But by their Lawes (for they made some

32  
some, filed i 29. 1040 16401, which were nullified by a decree,  
i Xen. p. 275, as wee shall speake hereafter) none was to suffer i 29. 1040 16401  
28, who was registred in the list of three thousand. So cruell  
k Dem. p. 467 were they, that the people fled into k Phyle a castle in the  
Athenean borders, and making an head under the conduct of  
Thrasylulus, at last shooke off this yoke, and remained free un-  
till the death of Alexander even fourscore years, whom  
Antipater succeeded; who in battle at the City Lamia gave  
the Athenians an overthrow; and gave them quarters on  
these termes that they should submit to a few Peers, whose  
renewes amounted to two thousand Drachm'es at least, the  
chiefe of whom was Demetrius Phalerius; that they should like-  
wise receive a garrison into Munichia for the asswaging of  
riots and uproares. But four yeares after, Antipater dying,  
the City fell into the power of Cassander, of whom they of-  
ten strove to acquit themselves; but in vaine. For he brought  
them to such an exigency, that they were glad to come to  
composition. And indeed he dealt fairely with them, giving  
them their City, Territories, Tributes, and all other things,  
so that they would be confederates to him, that none whose  
renewes come not to tenne mine or pounds, should under-  
goe any function in the Common-weale; and he should be  
their overseer whom he would be pleased to nominate. The  
man appointed was Demetrius Phalerius, a who made the  
City to shine in her full lustre, insomuch that they erected in  
honour of him three hundred Statues. He wroth a Treatise of  
the Athenian Republique, which, had not time devoured,  
would have given no small light to my poore endeavours.  
After he in trouble & vexation had spent fourteene yeares  
he was put out by Demetrius the sonne of Antigonus surna-  
med Poliorcetes, who restored the ancient customes to them  
again. To them they ascribed such worship, as also to his fa-  
ther, that they changed the name of their Iudge from Archon  
into b Σωτήρ ἡγεμὼν. The Priest of the Gods that saved them,  
calling the yeare after his name, and adding \* two Tribes to  
the

the Tenne, whence the Senate consisted of fix hundred, but  
five before, as <sup>c</sup> Stephanus, But when Cassander had over-  
throwne the sonne and father, such was the ingratitude and  
levity of the Athenians, that they forbad Demetrius to ap-  
proach nere their City. After this Lacharis plaid the Tyrant,  
and was expelled by Demetreus; whom they utterly cast off,  
assuming againe the title of Archon. Demetrius dying Anti-  
gonus Gonatas succeeded, who in the nineteenth yeare of his  
reigne put in prefidiarie souldiers to the City, which tenne  
yeares after he tooke out. The Macedonians still kept some of  
the Athenians forces in this space. Demetrius Antigoni Gon-  
F. & Antigonus Dosjôn, out of whose hands <sup>d</sup> Aratus the Sicy-  
onian rescued the City, and made it stand by it selfe untill  
Phillip, the last king of the Macedonian Monarchy except one,  
did somewhat shake it, as you may read in <sup>e</sup> Livie But he was  
expelled by the Romans, who tooke the Athenians into  
league with a maintaining their ancient right. So they re-  
mained untill the warre between the Mithridates and the Ro-  
mans. For by feare they were driven to receive <sup>f</sup> Archelstra-  
tus, Mithridates his Generall, within their walls; against  
which Sylla laid siege, and captivated the City, whence pro-  
ceeded ἀνελεῖς ὄρωγος, a mercyleffe slaughter, saies Appian,  
that the <sup>g</sup> streets did runne with blood. But the Lawes were  
not much altered by this Conquerour; and therefore they li-  
ved in a nere resemblance of their former state; in favour  
with the Roman Emperours, Julius Caesar, Adrian, Antonius;  
Gallienus, in whose successours time, Claudius, the second of  
the name, this City was ranfacked by the Gothes, who when  
they had heaped up Innumerable companies of bookes to  
burne, were dehorted by this reason, <sup>a</sup> that the Greekes, spent  
cing their time in reading of them, might be made more unfit for  
war. Constantine the Great likewise had this City in high  
esteeme, taking to himselfe the Title Σεπτμήτης Ἀδων, as  
<sup>b</sup> Julian saies, which in the word, of Nicephorus Gregoras is  
<sup>c</sup> τὸ τῷ μεγάλῳ Δουκὶ (ὀνομα) the Grand Duke, whom simply af-  
E  
towards





# LIBER SECVNDVS.

## CAP. I.

*Duodecem Dii Atheniensium Idololatria septisariam commissa. Dii Adscriptitiii. Θεοὶ Ἀγνῶστοι.*

<sup>a</sup> Pag. 48.

<sup>b</sup> In Tractu  
ἀπὲρ Ἡρόδοτου  
κακὸν θεῖας.  
p. 669.



<sup>c</sup> Sch. Eurip.  
in Alcest. pag.  
661.  
<sup>d</sup> Συναστ. i. 509.  
in Stel. i.  
<sup>e</sup> Pag. 260.

f Pag. 281.

Herodotus in <sup>a</sup> Terpsichore is of opinion that the  
Greekes derived their religion from the Æ-  
gyptians. But <sup>b</sup> Plutarch doth stoutly deny it.  
And not without good testimony may I affirme  
that it seemes to be a falsitie. For Orpheus is  
thought to have brought the mysteries of piety into Greece;  
who washimselfe a Thracian, from whom the word <sup>c</sup> θρησκεία  
is supposed to be drawne, which signifies devotion. Τῶν ἐν τῷ  
πᾶν θεῶς ἐχέμεσαν θρησκύνειν, ὡς Ὀρακίας ἔπος ἔνεύστας, saies  
<sup>d</sup> Nonnus. They called θρησκύνειν, to worship God, &c. Ap-  
positely to which <sup>e</sup> Aristophanes ἐν Βασίλειαις.  
Ὀρφεὺς μὲν δὲ τελετὰς ὅ τ' ἡμῶν κατὰ δειξέει, φόνων τ' ἀπὲρ χροδαί.  
Orpheus showed us sacrifices and to abstaine from slaughter. Neither  
is <sup>f</sup> Euripides disagreeing in Rhelo.  
Μυστικὸν τε καὶ σπορρῆτων φανῶς  
Ἐδείξεν Ὀρφεύς--- Orpheus revealed the hidden mysteries.  
Herodotus names not the Gods, the worship of whom  
the Greekes might borrow from the Ægyptians; Twelve in  
number

number they were, quoth he, but these only are reckoned. *In* <sup>g</sup> Paus. Attic.  
piter, Bacchus, Hercules, Apollo, Mars, Pan, Diana, *Isis* or p. 3. 118.  
Ceres, *Sais* or Minerva, Latona, as I have gathered, which  
all at once to have been made knowne to the Greekes, and  
that by the Ægyptians is too hard a taske for me to prove.  
The Athenians I am sure had twelve Gods in especiall ho-  
nour, whose pictures they had drawne out in Gallery in  
Cramicus; and had an Altar erected, called <sup>h</sup> Βασιλεὺς καὶ δαδὲς <sup>h</sup> Plut. in Ni-  
ciæ. pag. 387.  
on which a litle before the Sicilian warre, a man dis-  
membred himselfe with a stone; which was accounted pro-  
digious. By these twelve would they sweare in common dis-  
course. <sup>i</sup> Ματὸν δαδὲκα θεῶν. The heathens thinking that they <sup>i</sup> Aristop.  
did honor those Gods, by whom they sware; as I have else-  
where spoken. But they were not confined to so small a num-  
ber as twelve. For how could it be, when they ran through  
the seaven sorts of Idolatry? First worshipping the Sonne, &  
punishing with death the neglect thereof; as you may read in  
<sup>k</sup> Plutarch in the life of Pericles. Secondly desying the ef-  
fects of God as Bread &c. For Clemens Alexandrinus inter-  
prets <sup>k</sup> Διὸς, Ceres, & <sup>k</sup> ἄστρον, corne or food. Thirdly the poeti-  
call Gods. Furies and revengers of wickednesse, as *Alastores*,  
*Palanæi*. Fourthly, the Passions, as Love, Paine, Injury like-  
wise, and Impudence, to whom *Epimenides* built an Altar at  
Athens. Fifthly the accidents of growth and nourishment,  
hence *Αἰκός*, and *Thallo* two deities, <sup>l</sup> αὐξάνειν, to increase, &  
<sup>l</sup> δαδάνειν to flourish; to which may be put *Clotho*, *Lachesis*, and  
*Atropos*, the three fatall sisters, and *Εὐδμήνη* Necessitie, taken  
sometime for death it selfe. 61y, the Thegonie or pedigree  
of their Gods, able to make up the summe of which *Homer*  
speakes. <sup>m</sup> Τεῖς δ' μύηται, &c. Three thousand. Seaventhly an ig-  
norance of the providence & bounty of God toward them,  
tained *Hercules* the repeller of evill, and *Æsculapius* the  
God of Physick. And if this serve not, I can adde an eighth  
way, namely hospitality & good entertainment of strange  
Gods. <sup>n</sup> Ἀδυνατοὶ δ' ἄσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα φιλοξενεῖτε διαπελῶσι, ἔπω

## 38 Archaeologia Attica Lib: 2: Cap: 1:

a Pag. 47. *ἡ δὲ τὰ θεῶν, φαίει ὡς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς θεοὺς ἀγαπᾶν, ὡς οἱ Ἕλληνες τοὺς θεοὺς ἀγαπᾶν.* saies a Strabo. as the Athenians love foreigners, so foraine Gods. Οὐδ' ἴσ' ὅσον τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους ἀπ' ἡμῶν, &c. Aristides. For they serve not only the most ancient Deities in a peculiar manner above all their followers, but have assumed adventitious ones; such as c *Orthone*, Conis-jalus, and Tychon. So prone were they to conceive superstitious, that when d Paul preached Jesus and the Resurrection of the Dead; they forthwith deemed Anastasin, or resurrection to be a God And least they should omit any, they erected Altars unto the unknowne Gods, of which e Pausanias. Neither may we doubt of it the Scripture bearing witness. The cause of this they say to be a fearefull vision appearing to Philippides, sent Ambassador to the Lacedæmonians concerning aid against the Persians, and complaining that he (f Pan from whom *πενήλον ἢ spectrum*) was neglected and other Gods worshipped; promising likewise his help, they therefore being victorious, and fearing the like event, built a Temple, & Altar TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Another opinion is, that a plague being at Athens hot, and the people finding no help from the Gods they implored, furnishing some other power to have sent the disease, whereupon they set up this Altar, on which was written ΘΕΟΙ ΣΤΑΣΙ ΑΣΙΑΣ ΕΥΡΩΠΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΙΒΥΝΤ, ΘΕΩ ΑΓΝΩΣΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΕΡΩ. TO THE GODS OF ASIA, EUROPE, AND AFRICA, TO THE UNKNOWN AND STRANGE GOD. As Iustin & Mariye and Oecumenius. much may be said of their Tutelar Gods, both for their Cities and houses, much of their Heroes or Demigods. We will view them in order.

CAP.

## CAP. II.

Jupiter Βασίλεως. Νέμιος. Ἰκίστιος. Πολιεύχου. Βυλαῖου. Ἐρμίου. Φίλιου. Ομόγνιος καταιβάτης. Ἐρκιου. Ἀργεῖου. Ξένιου. Μοδιου (salu edendi, Tesseræ hospitalis seu Symbolum. Apollo Ἀπολλωνίου. παρθένου. Ἀλεξικου. Θουράου. Πραν, ὅτε ἐκείνην verbi origo. Mercurius Παλιγυρῆτιος. Εὐκένιου. Σὺφραίου. Περσίου.

Above other of their Gods Jupiter was had in high esteem. And that commanded by the Oracle. For when the Athenians were bidden to dissolve their kingdoms, they were charged to make choise of Jupiter, a *πρεσβυτάτους ἢ Δία* a Sch. Aristop Βασίλειον. And so by b Aristophanes he is called Ζῆς Βασίλειος. p. 122. Him they worshipped as President of Law and Justice, under c In Nubibus the name of Jupiter e *Nemius* (different from that of *Cynith* c Decm. in named Νέμιος) Him as God of supplicants, hence d *Ἰκίστιος*, Him d Ulpian in as Protector of Cities, hence *πολιεύχου*. Him as Governor and Dem. p. 273. director of their Councils, hence *Βυλαῖου*. Him as cheife of their Pauf. p. 18. I. Societies, hence *ἐρμίου*, and of their friendship too, hence *φίλου*. Who alio; & of kindred likewise, hence *ἐμψυίου*. To him they ascribed Thunder, hence e Ζῆς καταιβάτης, as much as comming with fire by a downe in thuder. To him they thankfully acknowledged judgment, their delivery from the Persians, wrought by Themistocles, that flew Ari-hence f *καταιβάτης*. Him they confessed the greatest of all, hence *Ἐρμίου*. Him the overseer of their buying and selling, hence *Ἐρμίου*. To him stood an Altar sacred in the courts of their of the Temple houses, hence Jupiter Hercæus, from g *Ἐρκιου* a wall, as if hee e Aristoph. A-vib. p. 626, were the watch and defender of the house. Phavorius. *Ερκιου* f Plut. & Pauf. Διός βασιλεως ἔξω πρὸς τὴν αὐλὴν, αἰθερὶ δὲ δοκῇ, ἐν ᾧ ἔδυσαν g Pausan. Διὸς ἐρμίου τὸ ἔρκυς. There was also an Altar to him before the e Aristoph. gates, of which h Ovid. -- Ante adis stabat Iovis Hospitalis ara, p. 917. hence Jupiter Xenius, as if he were the God of strangers and b Metamorphæ hospitality So solemnne were they in their entertainments, that

i Eustath. in that they would not receive a stranger without great cere-  
 monies such as giving the right hand each to other i *πρωσι-*  
 II. 3. monies such as giving the right hand each to other i *πρωσι-*  
 k pag. 27. But as *Διολομνδν*, a most certaine ligne of fidelitie, and security; as  
 Eustath saies *ως Διολομνδν*, a most certaine ligne of fidelitie, and security; as  
 that they did also washing & clensing with salt, or salt water, as *κττει-*  
 set salt before *ως on Lycophron*; whence it is caled *ἀγνίτης πύθ*. Salt they  
 any other highly esteemed of, ever upbrading violated hospitalty with  
 meat to stran- *ιπὸ ἕλες*, &c. where is the salt? And yet it may be thought  
 gers. to be said of the community of the table m *ἐδόν ᾧ δὴ δὴ λανταν*  
 i Demosth. p. *καὶ κακουργεῖν τὰς ὁμογενείας καὶ συνεσίας*, customes shewing that  
 241. m Tzetzes in fellow-commoners, and as feed of the same table must  
 Lycoph. p. 28 not injure one another, to which the old saying may well a-  
 n Cic. de A- *greco multos multos salis simul edendos esse, ut Amicitie munus*  
 micitia. Eu- *expleum sit*, Men must eat many bushells of salt together, be-  
 stath saies fore they can be perfect friends; meaning that frendship is  
 that it beto- not so soone established. But I take salt, of the lustration,  
 lens love per- to which also they added fire, as you may see in o *Aristopha-*  
 manent. For nes. Neither was this all, for they sacrificed moreover, calling  
 salt preserves *Jupiter* to witnesse, and using these words in the time of sacri-  
 And as it is fice, p *Εἰς Δία Ξεῖνον ἀμείψαν, εἰσέλορα ἔνας*. Let my trespass  
 lettings in of be against *Jupiter Xenius*, if I offend, condemne, or neglecti stran-  
 water, sothey *gers*. And for the continuacion of this even to their posterity  
 who come from divers places they were wont to cut an huckle bone in two, the one partie  
 by hospitality they were wont to cut an huckle bone in two, the one partie  
 are made one. keeping one peece, the other party the other halfe, that when  
 In *λα-πρῶο* occasion, or necessity should make either of them stand in  
 in Acharn. need of other, *καὶ ἐπαρδάμοιτο ἑμὺν ἀσφαδλίον, ἀναγνῶντο τὴν ἑ-*  
 p. 414. vide *νίαν*, bringing with them their halfe huckle bone they might re-  
 Sch. new their hospitality. This they call *σὺμβολον* Symbolum a to-  
 i Eustath. in new their hospitality. This they call *σὺμβολον* Symbolum a to-  
 II. 1, ken, which sometimes they would send to their acquain-  
 q Eurip. Sch. tance in others behalfe, as *Iason* in *Euripides* offers to *Medea*  
 pag. 445. tance in others behalfe, as *Iason* in *Euripides* offers to *Medea*  
 a *ὡς πολεμὸς* Symbolum or token to strangers that shall courteously enter-  
 Aristophan. brated in a other Epithits I know by the Athenians. Apollo  
 οὐμβεῖ. Paulan. &c. was next in request to *Jupiter*, invocated in danger or sudden  
 b Aristophan. was next in request to *Jupiter*, invocated in danger or sudden  
 πλ. p. 86. events, hence b *Αποτρίψατο*, from *ἀποτρίπτει*, to turne away, as if  
 he

he should deliver them from eminent evil, for which reason  
 he is called *Alexicacus*. c *Apollinem appellentem mala intelli-*  
*gas, quem Athenienses Αλεξικακον* appellat. He was one of the c *Macrob. Sat.*  
 first Gods they had, hence he is termed *ἁπαρσι*, but c others d *1. p. 253.*  
 thinke because he was the father of *Ion*. f *Macrobii* is of o- d *Aristoph.*  
 pinion, because the *Sun* the same with *Apollo* is the Author e *Aristop. Sch.*  
 of progenerating all things quod *sol humoribus exsiccatis pro-*  
*generandis omnibus prebuit causam*. To him stood Altars in f *Satur. 1. p.*  
 their streets hence is he *ἀγυδς*, as if he were set over their g *257.*  
 waies c *illi enim vias, quæ intra romaria sunt, ἀγυδς*. This A- h *1. c. 9.*  
 gyem was a sharpe pillar. h *κίων ὃς ἐστὶν ἐξ ὀξυῦ λίθου*. Al- b *Schol. Eurip*  
 though the *Greekes*, as *Macrobii* saies, did worship him as i *Phæ. p. 322.*  
*Θυγαῶν, exitus & introitus potentem*, one that kept the dores of  
 of their houses, yet I find no monument of that Title in *Pausanias*. famous he was for the name of *Pæan*, of which  
 though I have taken occasion to speake elsewhere, yet this is a most proper place. I will not trouble you with the triviall  
 derivacions of the *Greekes*, which you read in k *Athenæus* k *In fin. lib.*  
 When the *Athenians* asked helpe of the Oracle at *Delphos* 14. Dip.  
 against the *Amazons*, in the daies of *Theseus*, The God bid  
 them implore his succour in these words i *Παῖν*. l *Hanc vo-* *Macrob. Sat.*  
 cem, id est i *Παῖν*, confirmasse fertur *Oraculum Delphicum* A- l *1. c. 17. pag.*  
 theniensibus, petentibus opem Dei adversus *Amazons*, *Theseo* 253.  
 regname. Namque iniuros bellum iussit his ipsi verbis semetip-  
 sum auxiliatorem invocari, hortarique. I doubt not but the  
 words are changed somewhat, especially if we consider the  
 ancient *Io Pæan*. *Pæan*, saies the m *Scholast* of *Aristophanes* m *In Plur. p.*  
 is a song or hymne praying for the ceasing of a plague, or war 68.  
 nay for the preventing of apparent hurt. The originall of *Io*  
 n *Scaliger* hath already found, *Io*, & *Io* being contracted by n *Græc. Trag.*  
 the *Greekes* for *Jehovah*; *Pæan* then comes from *πᾶν* to look,  
 so that *Io Pæna* is in force *Jehovah Penoh*, LORD LOOKE.  
 UPON us, it being a craft of the Divell to come as neere as  
 possible he may to God, so to bereave him of his deare ho- o *Vide Sir*  
 nour, if he could. The remnants of these words the o *Symeron* Fr. Drake.

a people of the West-Indies use, who in their fighting, dance, and leap and sing *Yb Peho*, at this day. *Mercury* is hallowed by the name of *παλιγκάμο*, or *Ἐμπυλά*, denied to be the God whose favour could enrich Merchants and Tradesmen. He is the God of craft, so by consequence he that is cunning to cheat may soone grow rich, wherefore this God is termed *Ἐεζένο*, Very profitable, from *ἔε*, an augmenting word, and *νό* to profit. He had a statue erected to him in the Market place caled *Ἐμῆς Ἀγορά*. The entry of their houses was sacred to him; from which he is named *Περύλα*, as likewise *Στρά* from *στρέφειν*, to turne, because he was set up behinde the dove to keepe away theeves, that were wont to lurk thereabout, and then afterward commit their villany. More of his names you may read in *Ariftoph. Schol.*

CAP. III.

*De Saturno, Vulcano, Neptuno, Marte, Hercule. ἄνακτες.*

*Saturne* was worshipped by the *Athenians*, witness the feasts kept in honor to him caled *Κεβνια*: witness a Temple which he had in *Athens*. Of his antiquity I cannot much affirme any thing, He seemes to have beene of old, as I conjecture out of *Κενοβαί γνάμαι*, *Saturnina anime*, put for dotage proverbially. *Vulcan* likewise had his honor there, and a Temple, of which *Demosthenes*; where was one of the *Athenian* prisons some controversies in law in it decided, as I gather out of *Demosthenes*. *Neptune* was an ancient Patron of this City, which he loved even to strife. He was feared for security in navigation, hence *Ἀσφδαι*. *Mars* also had his worship, and Temple, and *Hercules* too, who in a dream appeared to *Sophocles* revealing unto him the sacrifice of one who had stolen a golden cup out of his Temple: caled therefore *Μηνυτις* as *Index Hercules*, as *Tully*. Neither

Neither were they contented with such a quantity, but canonized more daily, as the sonnes of *Tyndarus*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, naming them *ἄνακτες*. *ἄνακῶς δ' ἔχειν τὸ ἐπιμαρτύρεται* p. 11. l. 25. *ἢ φυλάττοντες ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸ βασιλεύειν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν καλῶν.* For they who have a care & watch of any thing doe diligently observe it *ἄνακῶς ἔχειν*. For which Kings perhaps are caled *ἄνακτες*, as keepers of their people. The Scholast of *Euripides* teaches us that *ἄναξ* properly signifies a Saviour. So *Pan* p. 507. is said to be *Ἄναξ Κυκλάδων*, the *Tuclar God* of *Cylene*. And in *Illiad*. a. *Apollo* in *Homer*. *χρῆσις ἵπτι ἀνδρῶν*. The word is simply put for God in *Ariftophanes*, *ἢ τὸν ἑν θεῶν Ἄνακτας καὶ Σωτῆρας* p. 578. To these may be pnt *Hamelius* and *Ariftoiton*. *Ly* p. 507. *Celeus* and *Metanira*. And many more (of whom see *q Me* Att. l. 3. c. 1. *urcius*) made of Men, as *Selanon* and *Perrhafius* that made the statue of *Thejus*.

CAP. IV.

*De Minerva, Cerere & Proserpina, Baccho, Venere, Eumenidibus, Hecate Junone, Prometheus, &c.*

*Minerva* the especiall deity of the *Athenians*, had the Festivals caled *Panathenæa*, of which you may fully read in *Meursius*. Next to her *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, whose rites *longe maximis & occultissimis ceremoniis continentur*, as *Cicero*, were greatest and most hidden: therefore caled *mysteria* from *μυστα*, to hide death and curse lying on him who should disclose those abominable secrets. See *Meursius* in his *Eleusinia*, of the initiation into these stews. They were of two sorts. Greater to *Ceres*, lesse to *Proserpina*. *Bacchus* also the sonne of *Ceres* had his Temple allotted and a double tide holy to him. *Dionysia* *parva* and *Magna* *Venus* had her honor, and sacrifice in which they offered to her money the price of an whore *Eumenides* were first adored



dored by *Orestes* after he escaped the Judgement at *Athens* in  
*Areopagus* for killing his mother *Clytemnestra*. These by  
*Hesiod* are called *Erinyes*, by the *Athenians* *Σεμναι Θεαι*, the  
venerable Goddesses. To these they offered drink offerings,  
without wine though at mid-night, a custome peculiar to  
them alone, as *Æschylus* witnesseth, though I am Ignor-  
ant that *Bacchus* his feasts were kept in the night, whence  
he is called *Nictelius*. But the Tragedian.

οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο δέσπιναι ἐπ' ἐχθρὰ πινέει  
ἔθυσον δ' αὖτε ἐνδὸς κοινῶν Θεῶν.

¶ In Theogo-  
nia.  
I Paus. p. 27.  
l. 4.  
m In Eumen.  
p. 275.  
n Aristoph. p.  
228.  
o Loco citato.

¶ In *Oedipo*.  
Col. p. 271.

q *Æschylus*  
ioco præd.

¶ Vide Interp.  
Hor. in illud  
Diva trifor-  
mis.  
r Aristoph. Sch.  
p. 53.  
t Pag. 64.

¶ In Orat.  
ωρεῖς κόπον α.  
p. 693. n. 59.

¶ In *Nubes*  
p. 176.  
x In *Plut.* 63.

Scholiasit: ἐν τῇ πρὸ μεσσηνικῇ πόλει εἰσινύουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθ. By *P. So-*  
*phocles* the manner of oblation is set downe. First having  
cleane hands & pure, the worshipper ought to draw out of  
a running fountaine water, and having filled three cups with  
water and honey (hence termed *ἡ γὰρ ὁλὴ αὐτῆς μελίσσεται*) the  
mouthes & eares of which are to be covered with the wooll  
of a young sheep, turning himselfe towards the East, he pow-  
ered out some of two of them, but the third wholly; then with  
both hands setting thre nine branches of Olive on the place  
where he casts his *χρῶς*, he uttered his conceaved supplicati-  
ons. Other sacrifices they had as shall be shortly spoken.  
¶ *Hecate* was worshipped by them in *ivivis*, where three  
wayes met, supposed to be the Moone in Heaven, *Diana* on  
earth, and *Hecate* below. ¶ To her the richer sort every new  
Moone made a feast in the crosse wayes setting bread & o-  
ther provision, which the poore greedily fed on, and were fo  
ravenous after, that *Penia* in *Aristophanes* complains, that  
they snacht it, before it could be laid downe. Reference to  
this hath *Ἐκαταία γε πείθειν*, to eate the cates of *Hecate*, in *De-*  
*mosthenes*, which he seemes to object, as a sordid or wicked  
thing, Indeed *βαμολόχῃ*, which signifies on that privily ta-  
keth away any of the sacrifices from the altar, imports some-  
times impious, *βαμολόχῃ* & ἀσεβῆς. Schol. \* *Aristoph.* And yet  
the same Scholiast tells us that the needy sustained themselves  
by the sacrifices. \* ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν πτωχοῖς ζῶσιν. *Innoes* rites  
were

were performed in great pomp with hair over their shoul-  
ders & downe the back, in a vesture that swept the ground,  
their armes bedecked with glorious bracelets, their paces fo  
minced, that *ἡ ἑστὶν βαδίζειν*, *Inonem incedere* is to goe state-  
ly. *Prometheus* was worshiped in a kinde of Torch-dance, or  
running with likes or lamps, it may be in memoriall of the *Casaub.* in  
fire, which superstitiously they believed him to have stolne *Athen.* l. 12. c.  
out of Heaven. To say more of their Gods were needlesse ei-  
ther for you to read or me to write. More they had, among 22.  
whom *Pan* was of latter making, introduced by *Philippi* \* *Plut. Arist.*  
*des*, and \* *Σφραγιδες Νυμφῶν*. *Sphragitides Nymphæ* after the *P. 240. l. 30.*  
*Persian* overthrow.

C A P. V.

Θεοὶ Ἀνθήλαιοι. *Egmaï. Phacassani Dii.*

THE *Athenians* before their dores erected statues which  
they called *θεοὶ ἀνθῆλαιοι*, because they were exposed to chium, & Di-  
the Sunne. Neither had they these alone, but certaine others  
sacred to *Mercury*, named from *Hermes Hermæ Mercurialis*.  
The fashion of them was divers. For first they were not ἀν-  
τηνθῆλαιοι, portectio veretro, but made after to that forme by the  
*Athenians*, who received it from the *Palatigi*, as *Herodotus*, d In *Euterpe*  
Neither did they want legges, untill the *Athenians* made them  
ἀκάλως, according to *Pausanias*. The manner was this, A  
face of *Mercury* set upon a pillar of four corners the head on-  
ly and necke were shapen, and therefore it was called *truncus* f *Sat. v. 852.*  
*Hermes*, f *Juvenal*,

*Nil nisi Cecropides, truncosq; simillimos Hermæ.*  
*Nulla quippe alio vinctis discrimine, quam quod*  
*Illi marmoreum caput est, sua vivit imago.*

For which reason likewise the *Greekes* name them *εἰς ἀγῶν*,  
without limbs. On the lower parts of them were certaine ver-  
ses engraven, containing the praises of some well deserving *αἰεὶ ὕψος*.

a Vide Schor-  
tum in Pro-  
verb. Isaacum  
of the Casaub.  
*Athen.* l. 12. c.  
p. 388. p.  
b Cl. Alex.  
\* *Plut. Arist.*  
P. 240. l. 30.  
c Vide Hesy-  
chium Pe-  
tavius in  
*Themisium*.  
d In *Euterpe*  
p. 48.  
e In *Atticis*  
p. 22. l. 14.  
f *Sat. v. 852.*  
g Vide *Ulpia-*  
an in *Dem:*  
p. 332. & G.  
Langtaine in  
*Notis ad*  
*Longinum.*  
αἰεὶ ὕψος.



him. Adde the avoiding of obsequies for feare of pollution. Antiquity was of opinion that sacred persons were defiled with the sight of the dead, as Chemnitius hath observed, and c Euripides brings in Diana speaking that it is not lawfull for her to behold dying Hippolytus. Nay the standing upon a grave was a great religion; δὲ θεῶν μὴ μύησαι. Furthermore observing of daies good & bad, of which d Hesiod ἀλλὰ μνηστὺς, ἀλλὰ ὃ μὴ τῆρ, that one is a stepdame, another a mother. e Amazement at the Eclipse of the Sunne, as also the f Moone; not knowing the reason why she did loose her light, at that time, when shee was in her full lustre. Buying of Medicines or enchanted stones for the quicker delivery in child-birth, in Aristophanes. ἀκούτεκε ἀντιστάριον. Of the virtue I speake nought. g Lib. 4. c. 11. h Boemus relates that in Darien in America the women eat an hearb when they are great with child which makes them to bring forth without paine. Joine to this the sneezing over the right shoulder, or the right side, ἡσπαρῶς ἐν δεξιῇ. observation of Διοσμητίας, or sudden stormes, as the i Sch. of Aristophanes interprets it, snow, haile, or the like. k Cutting off their haire, and sacrificing it to rivers, as, Cepheissus. Marking the flight of the owle, whence came the proverb, γλαῦξ δὲ ἐπατο, The Owle hath fled. And γλαῦξ ἴσπευ for good lucke, The Owle being a token of victory to the Athenians, m ἡ ψήσις τῆς γλαυκῆς νίκης σύμβολον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐνομίζετο. They ever accounting it so since the warre at Salamis, where the Greekes seeing an Owle tooke courage and beat the Barbarians. Appendix Vaticana. ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ὃ πάντες διεβόησαν παρρησάντες Ἑλλήνες ἐνίκησαν. Other madnesse of theirs was sleeping in the n Temple of Æsculapius, who were ill at ease, supposing the deity to give, or shew them a remedy, o for which in gratulation they were wont to offer him a cock. If I mistake not. What shall I say of putting him to death who should cut downe an Oake or an Holme (so Ilex which in Greeke is πευδιόν may be taken, I thinke it in an Holme) in the Heronum; And punishing Atarbes capitally who being distra-

cted

cted had slaine a sparrow sacred to Æsculapius? thus farre have we gone. Let us proceed to their vaticinations or prophesying. Æschylus brings Promethæus on the stage, vaunting how first he taught men \* Ονειροκλιτῶν Οἰωνιστῶν ἥπα. \* Vide Sch. τικῶν. Ουτικῶν. All which were practised among the Athenians, as you may read in a Xenophon. Ονειροκλιτῶν, the interpretation of dreams, is a resolution of those doubts, which we conceive of things offered to our fancy in sleep, as that of Hecuba dreaming that she should bring forth a firebrand; & that of Atossa before the fall of her sonne Xerxes, whom she saw striving to yoke the Barbarian and Greeke Woman, one of which overthrew him. This the ancients termed ἐνυπίον ἰδεῖν, Æschylus, ascribing much to the truth of them, supposing them to be sent from a Deity --- ἡ δὲ ὅτ' ὅναρ ἐν Διὶς ἔδην. b Homer. The skill in them is ἔξ ονειροπῶν ἡ χεὶρ παραγυῖος, b Iliad. 1. κληῖδνας τε δυσχεῖρας γινώσκειν to truly tell the event. Which c Æschylus. Pro. was no small art, certain Books written of that subject. P. 33. d ἡ εἰδὼν ἔγγραφοὶ τινες τέχνηαι ονειροκλιτικά as Artemidorus his d Eust. in II. 2. Onirocritica. Οἰωνιστῶν, Soothsaying by birds when such or p. 36. such flie either before or behind him, at the right or left hand, to shew what it doth prognosticate. e Æschylus. Ταμψω. c Pag 33. νύχων τὲ πύσιν διαρῶν σκετῶς διαείτ' ὅτι τινὲς διεξιοὺ φύσιν. Εὐανυροὶ τε, ἡ δὲ σταυρὸν ὠπνῶ. Εἰς ἡσπῶν, ἡ περὶ ἀλλήλους πίνε. \* Ἐχθρὰι τε ἡ σέρψαντες ἡ σινεδρέαι. f Aristides T. ονοιστική, ὅτε ἐν διανοίᾳ ποιεῖται ὁμῶν ἀνταρπνὴ διήσει σμύλαι, 3. P. 25. which the mind doth suggelt to the opinion. It is put for any divination in Greeke writers, but most properly ονειροσκοπικῶν, which s Telegonus is related to have found according to Nonnus, but according to b Plinie, Car; whence it is called Συναγ. 1. 5. Caria: Πατακῶν, looking into the Liver or entrals, like the Latines exispicium, observing the colour of them. f λοβῶ τε b Nat. hist. 1. 7 ποικίλῳ ἐυμερῶν; as likewise the soundnesse, hence taken as c. 56. a prodigie λοβὸς ἐκ ἔχων κεφαλῆς, in k Plutarch, the extremity of the liver (like the outmost parts of the vine leafe, saies Isc. k Pag. 357. dor) not to be seen, or rather that which they call the head, l. 31.

C

Ovid.

1 Aesch. loco.  
citato.

2 In An. p. 574

3 In Oed.  
Tyr. initio.  
4 Ovid. Fast.

5 Sch. Aristop.  
loco citato.

6 Nonnus in  
Naz.

7 Nonnus:

8 In Vesp.  
pag. 503.  
9 In p. 502.

*Ovid, casumque caput reperitur in extis.* θυμὸν, in marking the flame of the sacrifice burnt, 1 φλογὸς πρὸ σήματα, the Tragedian calls them, by which they could tell events. More doubtless had they ways of witchcraft, as the other Greeks. ἐνὸς, as when one shall meet you carrying such or such things, then this shall befall you. Αἰσχύλιος termes them ἐνὸς συμ- βόλους Sch. πρὸ ἐξ ὑπαντίστας. See Scaliger in Tibullum, on these words *Puer ē trivis.* The Scholiast of = Aristophanes on ἐμ- βόλον ὄρνιν, They made, quoth he, whom they met first as it were tokens of good hap. Whence it may be came up the salutation which 2 Sophocles calls ἐνὸς σήμα φροντίζω, wish- ing luck, as χρίσι among the Greeks, & the Latines 3 Esto bon- nis avibus visus &c. Σὺμβολον is put likewise for purging his head, the conjecturing at them. Sernatamentum being accounted a Deity by the Romans, that 4 ζήσεως, which we intimate in our whence proceeded that 5 ζήσεως, which we intimate in our God helps you, as often as we see any man so purging his head, which not to have proceeded from any deadly disease, is suf- ficiently evinced by Calaubon on Athenæus. Οἰκοσκοπιῶν, at the sight of a Mouse, Serpent, Cat or the like in the house, or when the oyle cruse is dry, honey, wine, water is spent, to guess at future things. On this 6 Xenocrates wrote. χεῖρες κα- πτικὸν, Palmistry, when by the length of the hand, or lines of the table, they can judge of fates in housekeeping, of mar- riage & posterity, of which 7 Helenus once left a monument. Παρμυστικὸν, gather'd out of the shaking of the parts of the body as the shoulder, thigh, or right eye, in which kind Posidonius was an author exposed to the world. Εγγραμμισία, as that wherein the Witch of Endor was experienced, out of the low- er parts of whose belly the Divell spake. The first that pra- ed this among the Athenians was Eurycles: hence they called this among the Athenians was Eurycles: hence they who are possessed with this spirit of prophecy, are called Εὐρυκλῆς J. Euryclis, as the 8 Schol. of Aristoph. who calls this Εὐρυκλῆς μαντιῆς, the divining of Eurycles. Νεκρομαντεία, art 9 Εὐρυκλῆς μαντεία, the divining of Eurycles. Νεκρομαντεία, where after solemn sacrifices they were wont to call up the

soules of the deceased, demanding of them what afterward should befall. As 1 Wierus. And no wonder, for they held 2 De Magis the spirits of their parents and kindred for Gods, quibus sacri- ficabant (saies Bodin) & ad quorum sepulchra comedebant, in- quos scriptura invebens ac detestans, inquit, & comederunt sacrificia mortuorum, to which they sacrificed, and at whose sepul- chers they fed: against whom the Scripture inveighing and detesting speaketh, And they ate the Oblations of the dead. Of this 3 Aristophanes makes mention, and Homer in his Odysse. This is that which most properly is called 4 μαντεία from 5 λα- mentation, by Wierus termed dire execrationes, 6 for with m Lib. A. greate mourning they invocated 7 κακαῖους δαίμονας, wicked a Nonnus in Gods for the accomplishment of their devilish designs. It Naz. may most fitly have the name of Nigra Magia 8 for so the b Vide Bodin Wizards divide them into the black and white Magick. Μα- γεία, from whence the word Magick is derived, seemes to have been found by the Medes and Persians, whose Priests were called Magi great Philosophers, as 9 Laertius is wit- c Vide Non. nesse. This is supposed to be the good Magick. εὐεχάνσεις ἔτι Nonnus. δαίμονων ἀγασσομένων, πρὸς ἀγαθὴν τινὲν οὐσίαν φαρμακεία, is a giving of philtum, a medicine for the procurement of love, or rather enraging of lust, by bewitching something and gi- ving it to be eaten; which to have power over swine is cre- dibly reported. κοκκινομαντεία Tricks with a paire of sheeres and live, of which Theocritus. 10 Ἀγρομαντεία, to take coun- f Vide Ody cell of an hatchet, taking it & laying it on a peece of timber flatwaies, which did the feat by turning round. Like to which is that naughty use of a key 11 μίβη. ἀστρομαντεία, by the casting of the dice to aske the number of wives, children, fames, &c. which answer to the quantity of a chance. 12 Αλ- g Vide Theo- φρομαντεία & ἀλφειμαντεία, done by corn. 13 Αειθρομαντεία, crit. in Phar. by taking the letters of the name, as when two were to b Delrio Dis- fight & by the value of them to judge the conquest: As they qui. Mag. l. 4. c. 2. q. 5. loc. 7. said of Hector being overcome by Achilles. Ορνιθομαντεία, ma- king a circle they divided it into foure and twenty parts, and

and on each part made a letter, and putting wheat upon the letters they brought in a Cock, and observing from what letters he took up the graine, they at last joyned them together, and so knew their successors, husbands, &c. Σπιχειομαντεία, opening a book of *Homer* and by the first verse that they lighted upon, to divine, as that of the death of *Socrates*, who so foretold it, meeting with that verse of *Homer*, which speaks of the arrivall of *Achilles* within three dates at *Thestis*. i. Et quoniam poemata pro vaticiniis, &c. and because poems were accounted Prophecies, as Poets Prophets, they were most busy in them. Hence in publique causes had the Romans recourse to the *Sibylline Oracles*, & the private Grecians to the verses of *Homer*. And that *Sors* was put for the writing of Oracles, is manifest out of the words *Sortes Delphice*, for fore-telling or divination. a I know the three Priests of *Apollo* being inspired with a kind of holy fury spake to those who asked counsaile. Whence the word μαντικὴ at this time read for Soothsaying, was anciently called μανικὴ madnesse. And yet that their cunning men had a kind of lottery, is as cleere as day, the c Scholiast of *Euripides* testifying, done it seems in matters of question, το καλὸν ἔχον may intimate as much as to undergoe triall. Predictions there were, a faith *Eustath.* out of signes and wonders, as also of the noise that leaves make when they are burned. To which some adde ἀεγμαντεία or divination by the ayre, quoting for it *Aristophanes* in *Nubibus*, which I now remember not.

## CAP. VII.

## De Templis &amp; Aylis.

Their Churches were of two sorts; sacred to their Gods in Greek *ναὶ*, or *ἱεῖα*. And sacred to their Demi-gods most properly *σηκοί*. But the word is promiscuously used by the Tragoedians, *Clemens Alexandrinus* is of opinion that the first

first originall of their Temples was the erecting of an edifice to the honour of the deceased. c *ναὶ* ἱερῶν ἀποκαταστάσεις, e *Vide p. 22.* πατρὸς ὃ ἡμιόβιος, ταῦτέστι πατρὸς νεῶς ἀποκαταστάσεις. Cecrops buried in the *Acropolis*, *Erichonius* in the Temple of *Minerva Pollus*, the daughters of *Celeus* in *Eleusis*, &c. They were divided into two parts, the sacred and prophane, this called ἕξω περὶ ἄνθρωπον, the other ἔσω. f *Casaubon* tells us that περὶ ἄνθρωπον was that holy water set at the door of the Temple, with Charact. which every one that entred into the Temple besprinkled himselfe, or was besprinkled by those that sacrificed; of which in the next Chapter. But others have written that it stood at the entrance of the *Adyum*, into which it was not lawfull for any but the Priests to come. The e Schol. of *Sophocles* thus describes the Church. *Ναὶς*, quoth he, is the place where the Altar stands. Βωμὸς, the Altar on which they offered their oblations, Τέμενος, where they placed the Idol which they worshipped; in ancient time a rude table or stock, a *ναὶς* a *Protreptic.* *Clemens Alexandrinus* calls it, as that of *Iuno Samia*, afterward made in the magistracy of *Procles* to be a statue. At first named b *ἔδανα*, διὰ τὸ ἀποξέειναι τὸ ἄλυσ, from the shaving of it; b *Idem.* but when art began to be so expert, as to make it resemble a man, they termed it βεβητος, from βεβητος mortalis, whose shape it bare. At the setting up thereof they used these ceremonies: That a Woman neatly trimmed & deckt in a purple vesture, should bring on her head a pot of soddin pulse, as beanes, pease, and the like, which they sacrificed in thankfulness for their first food, c *ἐν χαερσίᾳ ἀπομένοντες τὸ πρῶτον διαίτης*. For c Schol. *Arist.* as much as I conceive out of *Pollux*, they prayed not where p. 115. this was consecrated, or did divine honours, but in the ἱεῖα or ναὶ, the body of the Church, framing, as may be gathered, their gesture towards it. d *Ἄντ' ὃ δ' ἀεγμαντεία, ἀγῶματα, ἔδανα, ἔσω θεῶν, &c.* Farthermore belonging to their Temples there was a kind of Vestry, in Greeke *Ἀρχεῖον* by some translated *summun templum*, as if it were at the upper end. This seemes to have been a Treasure both for the Church, and

## CAP. VIII,

## De Sacerdotiis.

OF holy orders among them I conceive to have beene divers sorts, Παράται, *Parastai*, a word had in later times in great derision, exagitated almost in every Comœdy, put for a shark or smel-feast, *Edax Parastus*. But held once in good esteeme. For when they had set aside such a parcell of land as they thought the revenews thereof would suffice for the sacrifices of such & such Gods, they chose certaine men who should receive or gather the harvest, *Crates*, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν τέρψις ἐκλογὴν ἀνέμενον. With the incomes of this were the charges of those publique sacrifices defraied. Hence *Προσδίαμα* *Introitus magni*, great yearely substance, is used for great sacrifice in *Aristophanes*. Scholiast. ἔπο' ὃ ἔλεγον τὰς προσεργίας τοῖς θεοῖς δούλας. *Kéryces*. *Ceryces*, the same signifies a cryer, but in sacred functions a Minister, who flew and offered the victim. *Anthenia* the Comœdian ascribes much honour to them, as if they had first taught men to fetch victuals, the flesh of sheepe and oxen, while before they devoured each other raw. They take their name from a *Ceryx* the sonne of *Mercury* and *Pandora*. But *Casaubon*. *ἄνδ' τὰ κρείττονα*. *A* *prastantiore parte muneris quod abibant, sic disti.* Idem namque *hostias macabant, adolebantque &c.* They in the time of *Di* vine rites craved the silence of the people in these words, *ἔνθα πάντες ἔσω λαός*. Be whist all ye people. Good words, for *σοῦσημα* signifies, as well as to say nought, which in *Horace* fitly interprets, when he saies *Male ominatus Parciv* *verbis*. When sacrifice was ended they dismissed the congregation with these words *λαὸν ἀφαις*. To which custome he unfittly looked, who derived the Masse from *Missa est*, ite, better fetcht in my minde by a *Welshelium* from *Masah* the Hebrew, which availes as much as to praise, *Μεσαγωγή*, the same

## 54 Archaeologia Atticæ Lib: 2: Cap: 7:

e Laetius in  
vita. p. 122.  
vide ad eum  
locum Cas.

any soever, who fearing the security of his wealth would commit it to the custody of the Priest, as *Xenophon* is reported to have done at the Temple of *Diana* in *Ephesus*. Marti- al points at this when he saies,

Templa vel arcano demens spoliaverat auro.

So reverently did they esteem of these houses of their Gods, that to doe those offices of nature, I meane venting of excrements, too shamelesly seen among us in the Church-yards, as I may call them, was an abomination; punished severely by *Pisistratus*. For when he had taken tribute of all that the *Attick* ground had brought forth, they so hated him for that taxation, as they made the *Πελοποννησίου* of the Temple of *Apollo Pythius* a Jakes; which although for bidden never was redressed. And yet so secretly was it done, that he could apprehend none, save at last one stranger whom he caused to be whipt, with this proclamation, THAT BECAUSE HE CONTEMNED THE EDICT HE SHOULD DIE. Hence to a man that soundly smarted for his wickednes, they were wount proverbially to say, He had better have eased himselfe in the *Pytheum*, or if there were more, in the plurall number. *Κρεῖττον ἢ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ποδίσιν*. Nay so honourable held they these Churches, that to them they granted priviledge of Sanctuary, to which who should fly, might not from thence be drawne out under a trespassse upon religion. Of this kinde was the Temple of *Minerva*, & *Thesew*, the altars of the *Eumenides*, & *Mercy*, whose image they would not have erected any where in

their City, although in the midst thereof shee had a Grove. The first *Asylum* among the *Heathens* is held to have beene in *Athens*, built by the *Heraclide*.

CAP.

a Vid. Rosin.  
b Polyd. Virg.  
in Eurip. they  
are presented  
sitting neere  
the Altar. T.  
p. 472.

d In lib. quem  
scripsit de Sa-  
crament.

<sup>b</sup> Meursius E-  
leusin. in c. 13

<sup>c</sup> In Stel. 1.  
p. 63.

<sup>d</sup> L. Mountac.  
of Chichest.

<sup>e</sup> In Alexiph.  
p. 144.

<sup>f</sup> Arist. *Ec.*  
p. 125.

<sup>g</sup> T. 2. p. 621.

<sup>h</sup> In Politic.

<sup>i</sup> In Plur. p. 71  
& Casaub. in  
Theoph.

<sup>j</sup> Arist. p. 481

<sup>m</sup> Arist. p. 101

<sup>n</sup> In Plur. p. 71

same with <sup>b</sup> *ἱερόδωρος*), who initiated them who desired to be admitted into the society of the superstitiously zealous (who after they were entered, were not under a yeare compleate, permitted to see their Bible) <sup>c</sup> *Schol. Naz. ἱερόδωρος* *ὡς δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἱερόδωρος ἐκπαύειν*. Hierophantæ so called from *ἐκπαύειν τὸ ἱερόν*, opening the holy things. <sup>d</sup> *Euseb.* The learned Bishop upon that place of Nazianzen, notes that Moses among the Israelites was an Hierophanta, shewing unto them what they were to do in those sacred busineses. *Πυρόρει*, they who lighted the fire at the Altar, whose office made them safe in warre & danger. Hence of bloody fight we say *ἐν πυρόρει*, *Ne ignifer quidem*, there escaped not he that served at the Altar. *ἱερόποιοι*. The Priests in the Great Mysteries, tenne in number, *Νεώκοροι* whom <sup>e</sup> *Nicanor* calls *ζακροί* from *κροεῖν* *τὸ καλλωπίζειν*, to be decent, because they kept the Temples cleane, and swept them, as *Ion* in <sup>f</sup> *Euripides* speaks. These were the *ναοφύλακες*, whose charge it was to preserve that which was found in the Church, and to see that repaired which went to ruine, saies <sup>h</sup> *Aristotle*. And yet we read that the *Parastii* did sometime look to the mending of it. There being a Law enacted, that what they laid out should be restored again. *ἱερεῖς* in <sup>i</sup> *Aristophanes* likewise termed *ωἰστοί*. These are the Priests ever waiting on the Gods, whose praise the ancient required at their sacrifices; out of which they ers the ancient required at their sacrifices, as the <sup>m</sup> *Ceryces* the had a fee, <sup>l</sup> the trotters and skinneres, For there being tongues. And indeed there was no necessity, For there being tables in their Temples, as *Casaubon* teaches us, whereon they might lay their oblations, (& perhaps sometimes depart) of which the Priest according to his stomack did share. Well known to <sup>n</sup> *Aristop.* who relates the like of the Priest of *Æsculapius*. It was requisite to this function, that they who undertook it, should be found both wind and limb, whether they were asked *ἐν ἀρεαῖς* before their Creation, whether they were whole in every member: which ceremony to have been used among holy orders of latter daies is well known, their neighbours

neighbours wives bearing record, saies <sup>a</sup> *Christianus*, that <sup>a</sup> In *Aristop.* they have not taken into their societies *quid mutilum*. There were moreover three Priests as the *Βασιλίστα*, in *Demosthenes*, <sup>b</sup> *Antiq. l. 2.* and the *Κανθοβεί* whom in all things <sup>b</sup> *Dionysius Halicarnas-* n. 3.  
*jens* compared to the vestall Nunnes.

## CAP. IX.

### De Sacrificiis.

THE father of Philosophy is of opinion that Sacrifices first begā after the ancients had ended their harvest. For then being free from care, they found time for mirth & jollity. In which they offered their first fruits called *ἀπαρχαί*, from whence *ἀπαρχαῖς* is read generally to doe any sacrifice. Neither doth *ἀκροβύτια* import lesse. For <sup>c</sup> *ἀν* signifies the <sup>c</sup> *Vide Schol.* bend, or great cheit of the garnet, wherein they laid up the <sup>c</sup> *Eur. in Phœn.* harvest thresht & winnowed; *ἀκρον*, the first or beginning, as <sup>c</sup> *p. 291.* if when they began to treasure up their store, they first of all liberally paid some devotion to their Gods, The *Attick* oblations, even to *Draco*, were nothing else but the earthes beneficence, but before *Solons* age, burnt offering, who walked in his lawes, that they should be *ἐκκεῖτα ἱερεῖα*, chosen and selected <sup>d</sup> *Plur. p. 65.* sacrifices. The rites performed in them were not different <sup>d</sup> *l. 26. they called their leane* from those in the daies of *Homer*, but somewhat reformed. It <sup>d</sup> *sacrifices νεο-* behoved them that would take in hand these holy things to <sup>d</sup> *εργα ὅσους* purify themselves some certain daies before, <sup>e</sup> *περὶ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀειδμόν*, the number of them is not set downe. I take <sup>e</sup> *οὐκ ἔστιν* here to abstaine from caruall delights. *Tibull-Disce-* <sup>e</sup> *haire, as if* *naught esse,* <sup>e</sup> *die ab aris Qyos tulit hesterna gaudia nocte Venus*) To which <sup>e</sup> *Arist. p. 584.* purpose *Theano* being asked when it might be lawfull for a <sup>e</sup> *Demosth.* woman, frō the company of a man to goe to sacrifice; answered, from her own at any time, but a stranger never. Being thus prepared they came and stood round the Altar, having with them a basket in which was the knife hid (covered with





But

b Then were  
at the months  
of 30 D. as  
you may see in  
Schol. Aristoꝝ.  
Ach. p. 412. c

c Gem. p. 32.  
d Laertius in  
vita.  
e Pollux l. 1.

f Petit. Evl.  
Chro. p. 215.

a In  $\Delta 100\pi\mu$ .  
p. 78.  
b In Antigon.  
p. 213.  
c In Aratum  
p. 78.

0.78.

In Antigone

p. 213.

2 In Alaska  
-9

p 78.  
d la Oedipo

Tyran, p. 18

e in vita pag

66.1.15.

f Plutarch.

•

g Laert.in

the precedent Month; & that remnant which was after the conjunction, appertaining to the subsequent. (These peeces <sup>b</sup> *Atrius* calls *συνόριον Μηνῶν πέρας*) in which matter hee <sup>b</sup> *In Diosem.* is thought to have had *Homer* in light, who in his 1 *Odysse* <sup>p. 125.</sup> termes the thirtieth day, as *Didymus* expounds it, Τὸ μὲν ὅριον <sup>i. Odysse. 5.</sup> μῆνας, ἢ, δ' ἐσμ' ἡμέρας. Where we may note that then they had no *μῆνας* <sup>pag. 164.</sup>, but counted from one to twelve in the ordinal numbers, used by <sup>k</sup> *Demosthenes* in one *Orati* <sup>n. ἐν δεκά-</sup> <sup>k</sup> *Contra Ti-* <sup>mocrarem. p.</sup> *ῳ* and *δεκάτην ἑκαταμβαιῶν* <sup>446. n. 39.</sup>. Then putting the lesser to the greater they said *τετάρτῃ ὅτι δεκά*, *τετάρτῃ ὅτι δεκά*, the third above ten, the fourth upon tenne, and so to twenty, \* But when at the one and twentieth day they perceived the wane of the Moone to be great, & the light almost lost, they changed the order and used *δεκάτῃ ὀθινῷ*, *ἐννιάτῃ*, &c. the tenth of the increase, the ninth of the decrease, and so to the twenty nine, *ἑννιάτῃ ὀθινῷ*, the second of the decrease, or from the end, going lower in number still, as the splendor of the Moon was diminished, but the thirtieth they called *ἔνῃ ἔννέα* for the cause above. Here likewise they take the reason by the Month ending was *ὀθινῷ* <sup>l</sup> *Ἐπειδὴ ὀθινῷ ὥσπερ καὶ ὀδεῖρεδς ἀνέει τὰ ὥστα.* / *Ulpian* in <sup>Dem. p. 210.</sup> <sup>m</sup> *Macrobius* <sup>Sat. l. i. c. 16.</sup> Because the daies and Moones doe as it were dye, according to that of *Horace*. *Novæq; pergunt interire Lune.* <sup>m</sup> *Macrobius*, *quid aliud nisi illum ὀθινῷ dicat: cuius paulatim deficientis supputatio in nomen definit secuturi: & ἑσθλῶν illum; qui præcedit numerum successurus priori in defectum meatur.* *ἑσθλῶν* standing to supply the place of the departing Month; &ixed and still waiting untill the Moone shall have journeyed to the compleating & ending of the precedent time. Thus the last day of our lives is said to stand, *Virgil*, <sup>n</sup> *Stat. sua cuiq; dies,* as <sup>n</sup> *Ancid. 10.* unto which we must passe through all the rest, and once approach. Thus squared they their times and state matters to the Moone. Hence read we *μῆνας καὶ πόλιν ἄγειν*, to count the Month as they do, who manage politick busineses, or belonging to government. In which course they made their year of cccc l i i i dates, which divided into tenne parts make ten times



66 *Archæologia Atticæ Lib. 2: Cap: 10.*

*e* Pag. 21. *Vlpian* on *Demosthenes* parallels *Hecatombæon* to *c* January, and in the Oration for *Ctesiphon*, to *March*, and againe to *f* April. *g* In *Olympic* 3. *h* *March* he calls *Boedromion*, which also he interprets *h* *June*. *i* *Elaphebolon* *i* *November*, *k* *September* (in the margin February) and *l* *December*. *m* *Thargelion*, *April*. *Nunychion* January. *Scirophorion*, *March*. Which errors are cursorily noted by *n* *Petii* in part, to no great satisfaction. But when by the decree of *Augustus Cæsar* they were charged to conform their yeare to the *Julian*, they *o* thus numbred.

<i>Menfes Attici.</i>	<i>Menfes Iuliani.</i>
Ελαφηβολιών	<i>March.</i>
Μουνυχιών	<i>April.</i>
Θαργηλιών	<i>May.</i>
Σκιρφοβελιών	<i>June.</i>
Ἑκατομβαιών	<i>July.</i>
Μεταγειρηνιών	<i>August.</i>
Βοηδρομιών	<i>September.</i>
Μαιμακτηριών	<i>October.</i>
Πυανεσιών	<i>November.</i>
Ποσειδεών	<i>December.</i>
Γαμηλιών	<i>January.</i>
Ανθεστηριών	<i>February.</i>

But of this, so much only. We must handle their *Lunary* year because according to them were their feasts kept. From whence sometimes they would count, as *a* *ποσῶτον ἔστιν ἐν Διογυσίων*. So much and as long since the *Bæ hanals*, speaking of the age of a girl. For a more compendious way of comprehending their holy daies view this Almanack.

*Hecatombæon. Iuly.*

- 1 Πρώτη ἡμερῆς. Πρυτανεία πρώτης.
- 2 Τετλη.
- 3 Τετάρτη.
- 4 Πέμπτη.

5 Ἑκτη.

6 Ἑβδόμη. \*Κάδο δ' ὁ Θησέως εἰς Ἀδύας. Kept in memory of the returne of *Theseus* out of *Creet*, after he had

7 \* Ὀγδὴ. slaine the *Minotaur*. *b* *Plutarch*. The solemn- *b* In vita p. 12

8 Εννάτη. ty *c* *Ovid* seems to describe: *Nullus Erechthidis* *c* Metamor. 1.7. Fab. 23.

9 Δεκάτη. feritur celebratio illo Illuxisse dies &c. the eight day of every Month was sacred to him. He had also a festivall called *Theseia*, in honour of gathering together the dispersed people of *Attica*. Nam erit o-peræ pretiū. *d* Pag. 445.

10 πρῶτη μυσήνη.

11 Δωδέκα. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. *a.*

12 Τρίτη Κρόνια. Of these as also of the day, speaks

13 Τετάρτη. *d* *Demosthenes*. Then did the Masters wait on

14 Πέμπτη. their servants, as in the Roman Saturnals. *e* *L. Accius*. Maxima pars Graium Saturno, & kept the

15 Ἑκτη. maxime Athenæ Conscium sacra, quæ Cronia

16 Ἑβδόμη. esse iterantur ab illis, cumq; diem celebrant, per a-

17 Ὀγδὴ. gnos, urbēq; fere omnes Exercent epulis læti, fa-

18 Εννάτη. mulosq; procurant Quisq; suos.

19 Εἰκάς. Δεκάτη φθίνον]. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. *c.* Hence was this

20 Δεκάτη φθίνον]. this Month called by the ancient Atheni-

21 Εννάτη. ans, Κρόνια; afterward *Hecatombæon*, from

22 Ὀγδὴ. ἑκατομβάαι, sacrifices to *Jupiter* or *Apollo*, as

23 Ἑβδόμη. some think with the blood of an hundred

24 Ἑκτη. beasts: For so were they profuse in their sa-

25 Πέμπτη. crifices. *f* *Ovid*. Taurorum sanguine centum. *f* Metamor. 1.8.

26 Τετάρτη. \* Τρίτη Παναθηναία. *g* The Scholiast of *Homer* *g* In Il. *a.*

27 Δωδέκα. saies that *Hecatombæ* may be used for five &

28 Ἑβδόμη. twenty beasts, whose feet make up the

29 Ἑκτὴ νῆα. number of an hundred, ὅσοι τῶν ἑκατονβάτων, ὅ ἐστιν ὅς ἐκαστι-

πέντε ζώων.

\* To *Minerva* the Protectresse of their City, as hath been *h* In vita p. 8.

before said, instituted by *Theseus*, as *h* *Plutarch*. *h* *παραδιδώται* 1.8.

ἑορτὴν ἐπίνοσι κοινῶν. At first they had the name Ἀθλῶν, by Eristhonius, or Orpheus. In the time of solemnization there were rare shews exhibited to the people, such as horse races, wrestling, dancing in armour, called Πυρρική, from Pyrrhus that invented it; Then carrying in procession the *Peplis*, or robe, in which was wrought the fight of the Gyants. All which you may read in *Meursius* at large, and *Aristophanes* his Scholiast.

In Panathenæis.

¶ Pag. 140.

197. 180. 181

467. 580. 650

746.

The second of this Month is called *τετή*, because it hath but 29 daies, and so alwaies in *cavii*.

Metagitnion. August.

From the sacrifices of *Apollo*, called *Μεταγείνια*.

1 Κυρία ἑκκλησία. γ.

2

3

4 Κυρία ἑκκλησία. δ.

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6 Πρυτανία δ' Ὀπίεας.

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Κυρία ἑκκλησία. α.

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Κυρία ἑκκλησία. ε.

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\* Boedromion September.

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*Níkh* ἐν Πλαταιαῖς. When *Pausanias* and *Aristides* overthrew *Mardonius*, *Xerxes* his Generall neare *Plataeæ*, a City of *Beotia*, *Herodotus*, *c* *Iustin*.

*Níkh* ἐν Μαργαῶνι.

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. γ.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. δ.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. ε.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. ζ.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. η.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. θ.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. ι.*

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*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. ο.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. π.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. ρ.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. σ.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. τ.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. θ.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. ι.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. κ.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. λ.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. μ.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. ν.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. ξ.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. ο.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. π.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. ρ.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. σ.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. τ.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. θ.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. ι.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. κ.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. λ.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. μ.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. ν.*

Here I look on  
Mourus for  
brevities sake  
but if you  
please to read  
severally, see  
Aristop. Sch.  
p. 85. 98. 131  
138. 455.

22 \* Κυρία ἑκκλησία. α. people. The second ἡμέρα μυσταί, because the Crier then warned them to goe to sea. The third day they Sacrificed a Barble, because it devours a sea hare, an enemy to man. The fourth, two Oxen drew a basket representing Proserpine gathering flowers, which women following cry ἡλίζε Δῆμοντες, Haile Ceres. The fifth they ranne with torches: Hence λαμπάδων ἡμέρα. Hence is it termed ἡμέρα. The seventh day they exercised in feats of a- stivity & he that overcame had wheat given him. The 8th was Epidauria from Ἐσκαλαπύς his coming from Epidaurus to Athens to be initiated. In the ninth they filled two measures of corne, and setting one at East and the other at West, they powred them out, one looking to heaven and crying ἡέ, the other to the ground, saying, τοῦ ἡέ: Thus Μεισιμύς: That day was πληρωζόν.

a Sympof. Q. The second of this Month was left out ever, saies a Plu- 1.9. q. & in 1. tarch, instead of which some are perswaded, the name only was omitted, as τετάρτη for Τετῆ, which was recompenced by εἰς, p. 331 ἐνδεκάτῃ θῖνοντος, or ἰσχυρῶς, as in a defective Month δεκάτῃ θῖνοντος, for the twenty: Of this judgement is the b worthy Temp. 1. c. 5. Petavius. p. 11. D.

\* Mæmæst-  
erion, is to be  
inserted here.

\* Pyanepfion. October.  
This Month took denomination from the feast Pyanep-  
fion, For mingling the remainder of their food after their ari-  
ving, they put it into one pot, and seething it, were joviall  
altogether at the same.

- 1
- 2 Κυρία ἑκκλησία. β.
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7 Πυανέψια. After that Thesew had buried his Father, he paid the vow made at Delos, towit, if he returned safe from the death of the Mikotawte, hee would sacrifice unto him a pot of soddin beanes. Hence 9 πυανέψια, as it were, κυανέψια. For the antiques called beanes πυάμυς.

11 Ανοδος εἰς τὰ θερμοφρέια.

12 Κυρία ἑκκλησία. γ.

13

14 Θερμοφρέια. c Plautus calls the festivall vigiliæ c In Aulula- Cereris, which the Attick Dames c In Aulula- kept most sober and chaste, strowing their beds with co- nysa for that purpose, it being an enemy to lust. They 16 prepared themselves with fasting, but after that took 17 their liquor freely. The number

18 Πρυτανεία. δ. of daies were three allotted, as 19 some, or foure, as others. When Castellanus saies that 20 Ovid makes them nine, is false; for that was the Myste- 21 ria, as we above have shewne: They were done in ho- 22 nonr to Ceres, that gave lawes first, as she is termed Δε- 23 μήτης θερμοφρέου. Of these you may read d Aristophanes d Pag. 611. 70. 782. 783. 819. 820. 829.

24 and his Scholiast.  
25 \* Απαλῖνεια Kept this Month. When the Parents 26 brought their children to their Tribes, to be enrolled, I 27 suppose for feare of deceit in patrimonies. Then they made merry for foure daies.

28 Κυρία ἑκκλησία. α. The first was Δορτία. The se- 29 cond Ανάρρησις. The third Κυρεῶπις. The fourth, Επὶ Θεῶ.

30 Καλλικεία. In honour to Minerva. f Mourus tea- f Gracia Fe- ches us that they were celebrated the 1. 1. 17 of this Month, but Petitus hath thus placed them.

*Memactierion.* November.

This Month is to be placed before *Pyaneſſion*, as I have above given notice, but in this Almanack I follow *Petitus*, who ſo hath ſet it, though much againſt the opinion of other learned: as *M. Selden*, *Petavius* and others, whom I would have you Reader to accept as for moſt approved.

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Κυρία ἑκκλησία. β.

17 Κυρία ἑκκλησία. γ.

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*Plutarch* in the *Life of Ariſtides*, ſaies that the *Bæotians*, nay and *Greekes* ſend yearly ſome to ſacrifice to the memory of thoſe that died at *Platææ*, & every five year they have great paſſtimes, which he ſets downe the manner of.

The Month is derived from *Iupiter Memactes*: for I ſuppoſe they firſt found Gods, afterward feſtivals to them. Not the Months firſt, and then named the Gods from them.

<sup>a</sup> Pag. 241.

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*Poſideon.* December.

From *Neptune*, who is *Poſidon*. For the firſt day of this month was ſacred to him, as <sup>b</sup> *Casaubon*. Hence he thinks it to be called *Ποσειδώνος ἡμέρα*. <sup>c</sup> In *Theophyl. Char. ult.*

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Κυρία ἑκκλησία. α.

*Dionysia τὰ τῶν ἀγῶν*. Without the City, It ſeemes when they had gathered in vintage and preſſed their grapes. *Alvin Torcular*. Then were they moſt jocund, as may appeare out of that. Like the voyce of them that tread the Wine-prette, and in <sup>c</sup> *Oppian*. *ἐπιλωλία* <sup>c</sup> *Κωνσταντ. α. v. 127.*

*χαίρειν*. On which words <sup>d</sup> *Conradus Rittarſſius* takes <sup>d</sup> Pag. 18.

*Ἀλωαὶν* to be *Iannary*.

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. β.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. γ.*

*Αλῶα*. A feaſt to *Ceres*. The day doubtfull. <sup>c</sup> *Demoſth.* <sup>e</sup> Pag. 743.

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. δ.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. ε.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. ς.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. ζ.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. η.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. θ.*

*Κυρία ἑκκλησία. ι.*

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26 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.

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29 Πρυτανεία. ε.

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## Gamelion. January.

- 1 From the marriages first made by *Cecrops*, of whom be-  
 2 fore we have spoken, and more you may read in *Tzetzes*  
 3 on *Lycophron*. That month wherein this people coup-  
 4 led, hence is called *Gamelion*, from *γάμος*, marriage. It is fa-  
 5 cred to *Iuno*, who by the Poets is called *Pronuba* and con-  
 6 jugalis, Preident of weddings and the marriage bed.

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9 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.

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18 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.

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28 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.

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## Antheſterion. February.

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2 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.

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5 Πρυτανεία. ζ.

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- 11 Kept in great mirth for three daies in the honour of *Bacchus*. The first *Πιθουλία* may see Ari-  
 12 from *πίθος* the tubs, and *διδυν*, to open, for at the broa- stoph. p. 293.  
 13 ching of their vessells they drunk stiffely. The second 417. 419.  
 14 *Χοαί* from *Chus*, a good capacious vessell. In this he that 422. 222.  
 15 *Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.* could drink downie the rest The day was  
 16 of his companions had a called *χρῶμα*  
 17 golden crowne. The third *χρῶμα*, I suppose different likewise, but  
 18 from *χρῶσι*. From this Festivall the month is named. not in the  
 19 The twelfth of which *Dionysia* in *Lemni* were kept, sense spoken.  
 20 called *μεγάλα & ἀχαιόπερα*. The 13<sup>th</sup> were acted Comæ-  
 21 dies, begun the 3<sup>d</sup> yeare of the 53 Olympiad, when *a* In Terent.  
 22 *Callius* was Archon. But after they were taught as a *Do*. p. 289.  
 23 nat and *b* *Vlpian* witnesse, and *c* *Aristophanes*, *ὅτε πολλοί* *b* In Demost.  
 24 *σωπτεῖχαι ἐπιδυμῶν τὰ χεῖνὰ δρεμάματα βλέπειν*, saies one. p. 184.  
 25 *Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.* c Pag. 143.

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Elaphobolion. March.

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Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.

Θυσία Ασκληπιάδιν. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.

Πρυτανεία. ή.

c Contra  
Ctesiphont.

16 Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἄστυ.

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20 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.

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29 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.

Of these c Æschines makes mention, and you shall have them obvious every where in the Greek Authors.

Munychion.

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Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.

16 Μηνύχεια. Πρυτανεία ἐν τῇ. Munychia were observed to  
17 and had a Temple in Munychia, by Athens: The Month  
18 bears the name: In this Month were the causes of stran-  
gers judged. a Arist: Sc:

19 Διδασκα.

To Jupiter Meilichius. The greatest day a Avib. p. 60.  
that the Attick route was kept in: See of b Pag. 150.  
this b Aristophanes and Eustathius. c Ismen. &  
Im. l. 1.

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Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.

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Thargelion

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Κυρία ἑκκλησία. c.  
Θαρσίλια. To Apollo and Diana; holding it to be their na-  
tivity. On this day did they expiate for the sinnes of the  
people. For they were wont to nourish some base men,  
and of no account, at the publique charge whom in time  
of pestilence, or the like they sacrificed for the sinnes of  
the City, Two in number, saies the <sup>a</sup> Scholiast of Ari-  
stophanes, whence they were called *σημόσοι*: but more  
properly *καθάρματα* & *φαρμακοί*, <sup>b</sup> Aristophanes.

Κυρία ἑκκλησία. γ.

Κυρία ἑκκλησία. δ.

Βενδύειν. To Diana, who by the Thracians is na-  
med Βένδης.

Παναθήναια μικρά. Not much different from the  
greater. See Meursius.

Καθίστηται. Πρυτανεία. i.

Πλωπεία. Petrus places it on the 24 day, others  
will have it the 25. To Minerva, on  
which they take off the ornaments of her statue, and

wash it I suppose, <sup>c</sup> Plutarch, <sup>d</sup> Xenophon.

<sup>c</sup> Pag. 152.

<sup>d</sup> Ζηλῶν. α.

p. 257.

Scirrophorion.

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12 Σκία. To Minerva from *σκία*, a Canopy, under  
which her Priests did walk in pomp at that  
time: or from the statue of Minerva found in Scirus.  
13 <sup>c</sup> Scol. Aristoph.

14 Βυβόνια. It was not lawfull anciently to kill an Ox.  
15 Oxe: wherefore when one had slaine that

beast eating the meale provided for the sacrifice, hee  
flew him and fled, in memory of which this day was  
kept. Afterward they did mitigate the Law, and gave  
licence to butcher an Oxe, so that he was not for the  
plough. To which <sup>d</sup> Juvenal may allude. *Vi vetulus bos* <sup>d</sup> Satyr. 101.

21 Κυρία ἑκκλησία. γ. *Qui domini cultus tenet & misera* v. 268.  
*bile collum Præbet, ab invito jam fa-*  
*stidius aratro.*

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Πρυτανεία. ἢ φυλὴ ἀράτη, &c.

Where Petrus makes the foure first Tribes to governe  
each his day, on those foure that abounded above the  
yeare, \* Sigonius seems to agree, and \* Mansuetus ap-  
proves

\* Atlien Rép.

\* In notis ad

Harpocra.

\* D. Doft.  
Temp. l. 2. c.

I.

\* De emend.  
Tem. lib. 1.

prooves it. Neither is it misliked by \* Petavius \* Scaliger hath  
falsely taught us otherwise, who makes each *Prytanis* to rule  
36 daies, which none ever are to have done, except the first  
four.

## CAP. XI.

## De Tragœdâ, Satyricâ, &amp; Comœdiâ.

a Vid. Cin.

Chro. ad Gr.

Epoch. Mar.

Arund. p. 97.

b Hermog. de

Eloq. Meth.

p. 501. c. 23.

Eustath. in

Præf. ad Iliad

c Tract. de

Trag. & Co-

mœd. præf.

Terentio.

d Marmo. A.

rundel. & ad

ea Seld. CL.

Præf. a. etia

Aristophan.

αὐτὸν πομπ. δ

e Sch. in Naz.

utci. b. p. 106.

IT is taken for grant among the Ancients, that *Homer* who  
lived a 907 years before Christ, was the first that taught  
and weighty matters in few words and very concisely, being  
more large & using circumlocution in matters of lesse com-  
sequence, which *Hermogenes* acknowledges to be the pro-  
perty of a Tragœdian. This foundation being laid, following  
ages still built (though rudely) a structure to small perfecti-  
on: Nam post illius tale tantum documentum, &c. saies *c* Donat.  
For after that *Homer* by the *Iliads* had represented a Trage-  
dy, by the *Odysse* a Comœdy, most ingenious imitators took  
those Poems and set them in order, & divided them, which at  
that time were inconsiderately, & without judgement writ-  
ten, impolishit, & in the first rudiments not so neat and trim,  
as in proceſſe of time they were made. For Poesy was a great  
while in her minority, and very rude, after the first publish-  
ing of plaies. For we see little or nothing of *d* *Suſarion*, the first  
Comœdian, worth our time: some few verses only, & so few,  
as may but witnesse such an Author. The originall of the  
word Comœdy is supposed to be taken from divers reasons:  
First, because in their revelling, kept in honour to *Bacchus*,  
they sung them, & so it may be derived from *κῶμος*, commes-  
satio; *e* *κῶμα* *ζεν*, signifying *κῶμα* *ζεν* *αἰχρῶς* *ζεν*, to sing basely  
at the cup. Secondly from *κῶμα*, sleep; because when any of  
the *Atick* husbandmen had been injured, it was the custome  
(as before hath been spoken) for the party abused, to come in  
the

the night season into the streets, and with a loud voice cry,  
such and such rejoyce in wrong, and commit such outrages,  
though there be Gods & Lawes. And after that, proclaimed  
the parties name, who on the morrow was sought out by the  
husbandmen & much shamed; by which these wrongs were  
redressed. Thirdly from *κῶμα*, a street, because when the old  
*Athenians* would note a wicked mans life out to the world,  
meeting merrily in the streets & high waies, they laid open  
every mans life, and concealed not his name, *f* *In vicis &*  
*compita ex omnibus locis leti, alacresq; veniebant: ibiq; cum no-*  
*minibus singulorum vitam publicabant.* These verses were  
first sung *g* in the green Meddowes, *h* about the beginning of  
the spring; When the husbandmen kept the festivals of *Bac-*  
*chus* the God of Wine, to whom they sacrificed a Goat, be-  
cause his biting is an enemy to the vine, the skin of which  
they took and sowed up close, filled with wine, and anointed  
it with oyle to make it slippery, and so hopped with one leg  
upon it, making themselves laughter at the falls they often  
took. This sport they call *ασχυλιδεζεν* from *ασχος* a skin, and  
*αλλεζεν*, to leap, *i* *Aristophanes*. *ασχυλιδεζ' ενταυθα πρὸς τὸν αἰ-*  
*δελαν.* *k* *Virgil* hath fitly set it out.

Non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris

Cediur, & veteres ineunt proscennia ludi:

Premiaq; <sup>l</sup> ingentes Pagos & compita circum

Thesida posuere: atq; inter pocula leti

Mollibus in pratis unctis saliere per vires.

After *Suſarion*, sprang up *Thespius*, the first that made Tragœ-  
dies, which by *Horace* are termed *Lachrymosa poemata*, sad  
poems; because they represent humane miseries, the misfor-  
tunes of Kings and great men especially, there being no place  
for a poor man, but only to dance, as *m* *Arrian* hath observed,  
Which thing gave an occasion to *n* *Socrates*, when he saw the  
most worthy & rich put to death under the thirty Tyrants to  
say to *Aniſthenes*, doth it not repent thee that we in our lives  
never did some famous exploit? So in Tragœdies we marke

L

that

*f* Donatus de

Tra. & Com.

*g* Idem ibid.

*h* In Synopsi

vitz Aristop.

Th. Magister.

*i* Plut. p. 108.

*k* Geor. 2. p.

71.

*l* Iſa. Tzetzes

in Proleg. ad

Poetas inter-

prets *κῶμας*

*μῆσις* *ζαεία*

*m* In Epiſtes

p. 65.

*n* *Ælian* Var.

l. 2. c. 11.



84 *Archæologia Attica Lib. 2. cap. 1.*  
 ly to Bacchus (and so afterward, when Actors are called Διονύσιος τετραῖος, and τετραῖος simply by *Demosthenes*, by *Donat Arusticus*. The word is used for Juglers, and such as *Hokus Pokus* in *Theophrastus*) they would feast, and afterward scoffe and deride each other, which grew afterward a part of their solemnity. They would moreover dance at rude Mulick, and from thence suppose they the *Chorus* to have sprung up. They would likewise cast forth αὐτοχθιδισμῶν, as they terme them, in *Virgil's* language, *versus incompitos*, & *Numeros immeros eo tempore furdi solnos & sine arte*. For they had of old but two sorts of verses, *Heroicks*, in which they sung the praise of Gods & Noble men, and from this in a short time, with small care grew a Tragedy; the other sort was *Iambicks* as toying and lascivious as the *Phallicks*, but biting too, & from hence came a Comedy. At first small was the difference between a Tragedy and Comedy, *1 constat sane, primis temporibus ignorantium fuisse discrimen inter Tragœdiam & Comœdiam*, and the reason is, because even Tragedies had their wantonneffe and petulancy. At first they sung in honour to Bacchus *Dithyranbicks*, and afterwards neglecting him they praised their Demi-gods, which when the people saw they cried downe, with οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον, whence our proverbial adverb is fitly used ἀπὸς Διόνυσου, for nothing to the purpose. But to give content to the people, the Satyrs did *præcludere*. But after that, when a Tragedy took state they excluded the Satyrs, and were only for sad and serious persons; by which mournfull Poems the people were wont to be cast down, sympathizing with the persons represented, therefore to cheere them a *Chorus* of wanton Satyrs were added in by *Theophrastus* as *m Horace*.

in De arte  
Poet.

brought in by *Thelphus* as — *Thelphus* —  
*Mox etiam agrestes Satyros nudavit, & asper*  
*Incolumi gravitate, jocum tentavit, eo quod*  
*Illecebris erat & grata novitate morandus*  
*Speculator, funderis, & sacris, & potus & exlex.*  
 In a *Satyrick* play, *Satyrs* have a *Chorus* place, or else the persons

persons are Satyric and ridiculous, and for the easing of  
the mindes of the spectators, they would bring in Satyrs for  
sports sake; and many of their Tragedies had some mixture  
of Satyric sport, saies <sup>n</sup> Casaubon. *Fuisse aliquando pluribus* <sup>n</sup> P. 129. de  
*Tragicis Dramatis interjectas Satyricas Fabulas.* Of this I say <sup>n</sup> Sat. Poeti.  
*Thespis* was the first inventor, who likewise to ease the Cho-  
rus<sup>o</sup> for that acted only) brought one actor upon the stage, <sup>o</sup> Laert. p. 220  
to whom *Æschylus* added one, and *Sophocles* another, so the  
number was three, *Æschylus's* is *ἀνταγωνιστής* *Sophocles* his  
*τῆταγωνιστής*, a word put for an obscure and base fellow in  
<sup>p</sup> *Demosthenes*, *Ἰππίας*, *ὁς ἀδοκίματος* & *ἥσυχος*, speaking <sup>p</sup> 184.  
*Æschines*, if I remember, Tully calls them Actors *secundarum*  
*et tertiarum partium.* <sup>q</sup> *Ut in actoribus Græcis fieri videmus,* <sup>q</sup> In *divinar.*  
*sepe illum qui secundarum & tertiarum partium, cum possit alio*  
*quomo clarius dicere, quam ipse primarum, multum summitti-*  
*re, ut ille princeps quam maxime excellat.* But let mee speake  
what I have to say of a Tragedy. <sup>a</sup> None was permitted  
once to act *Æschylus*, *Euripides*, or *Sophocles* his Tragedies, <sup>a</sup> *Plutarch in*  
but they were to be recited by the Scribe, that the Actors <sup>vita X Rhet.</sup>  
might (as I conceive) repeat them. *τὴν δὲ πόλεως γραμματεῖα*  
*ἀνταγωνίσκειν τοῖς ἀποκεινομένοις, ἐκ ἐξήναι πρὸ αὐτῶς ἀντιέ-*  
*ρεῖν.* And to this purpose by a law of *Lycurgus* the Orator <sup>p. 452. B.</sup>  
were they commanded to be transcribed, and kept under cu-  
stody & *κοινῶς*. Yet the <sup>b</sup> Author of the life of *Æschylus* <sup>b</sup> *Iuxta finē.*  
writes that the People made a decree, that he should receive  
such a summe of gold, that would *διδόσκην*, the places of  
*Æschylus* after his death. I put the word *διδόσκην*, *docere.* Be-  
cause Tragedians as well as the Comedians were said *εἰς*  
*διδάχῃν* *ἢν περὶ ἑκὼν ἑξαχθῶν*, to labour in teaching the  
people. And for this end did the Ancients lay out so much  
mony upon their Theaters. <sup>c</sup> *Sed immane quos quantosq; sumptus,*  
*in Theatra, in Comædiarum ac Tragædiarum representationem fecer-* <sup>c</sup> *Heinsius*  
*int antiquit. Cum non mores tantum ab utriusq; emendari, ac pru-* <sup>Polæg. ad A-</sup>  
*dentiam conferri, sed & scripta antiquissimæ, & formas Reipub-* <sup>ristarchum.</sup>  
*licæ, ac vitæ Magistratum, cum summo spectatorum fructu,*  
*in*

in Comœdia examinari, faciones componi, ac gravissima subinde publico suppeditari credenter consilia. Not unvfitly therefore did the Poet reply to the people that carped at him in the Theater. I came hither to teach you, not to be taught by you. Hence of a Tragedy or Comœdy the Greeke writers say, διδάσκει, docetur fabula, and διδάσκων, docere, as sometime Διδάσκων, as you may see in <sup>c</sup> *Athenens*. The following Poets did not alwaies represent their own Fables, but oft-times their predecessors; so saies <sup>f</sup> *Quintilian*, the people permitted the works of *Æschylus* to be dealt with, because in many places his verses were not set in order. He brought great grace to the stage, & first taught σκηνογραφίαν, the painting of the Scenes; which some think *Horace* to ayme at, when he saies, *Modicus intravit pulpita cignis*: Which because it was perfected by *Sophocles*, is thought (nay spoken affirmatively by some) to have been invented by him: *Sophocles* indeed did πολλά γέννησεν, bring in many new things: such as leaving out the actiō of the Poet (for before the Poet himselfe he acted) by reason of the badnesse of his own voyce; he found out white shoes, which the Actors and Dancers wore; he made the number of Dancers fifteen, before but twelve; he fitted likewise his Tragedies to the natures of the Actors, &c: but that he invented σκηνογραφίαν I cannot find: Somewhat likewise was added by *Enripides*: as to set out the Argument of the Fable in the beginning of the Tragedy, as you may observe; leading the Auditor, as it were, by the hand to the last and principall point of that one action which he would represent, which by the glory of our Nation, <sup>h</sup> *Sr Philip Sidney*, is not past by, as frivolous, without noting: These three were the Princes of Tragick stile, who exhibited ro the People every year at some certain solemnities their Poems, striving who should get the victory by the approbation of Judges, chosen for that purpose, called <sup>i</sup> Διονυσιακοὶ Κριταί, & <sup>k</sup> Κριταὶ ἐκ Διονυσίων; Tenne in number, think some, at first, gathered out of *Plutarch*, in the life of *Cimon*, authority for it. Because

d Athenæus  
Dip. l: 6. pag  
268. vide Ca  
faub.  
e Pag. 270.  
f Lib: 10.

**gT: Magister:**

### h In the de- fence of Poesy.

i Heinſius in  
Proleg: ad A-  
riſtarchum  
ſacrum.

& Aeschines  
cont; Ctes

cause when he had brought the Reliques of *Thesem* out of *Syrus*, *Aphesston* the Archon, in gratulation to him, chose not the Judges as soone as the Theater was filled, and spectators placed; but presently after *Cimon* entred the Theatre with nine more of his fellow Captaines, of each Tribe one, after accustomed Sacrifice he swore them Judges, who gave the victory to *Sophocles*, but then young; for which *Aeschylus* grieving went into *Sicily*, where he died, and was buried neere *Gelas*. But out of this place we cannot prove that the number of these Critick Judges was alwaies Tenne. This we acknowledge done in testimony of high acceptation of *Cimons* service. And yet in judgment upon Tragœdiars, the number might be so great. For there seemes to be a difference between the Judges of Tragœdies and Comœdies. The number of Tragick Judges, grant we haply to be such as we speak; the power incontrollable, as from whom there was no appeal to others. *Cum neq; provocatio ab iis esset, neq; de quibus illi judicaret, magistratui ceteri sententiam pronuntiarent.* The Comick Judges were in number but five, from whence came the Greek proverb, *Πέντε κριτὸν ἐν γένεσι λέγει.* *In quinque iudicibus lis est.* The *Scholias*t of *Aristophanes* speaks somewhat uncertaine. Judges, quoth he, passe censures upon the Comœdians, & they who had five voyces were happy. Those were all. For if there had been tenne of them too, it would have made nothing to the Poets' felicity to have had equall voices: For the odd gave a great stroak. Hence wishes the *Chorus* in the behalfe of the Poet -- *Ενὶ κριτῇ νικῶν μόνον*, to be Victor by one voyce only. Another difference is that, whereas the Tragick Judges had free liberty of suffrages beyond the power of the people, the Comick had not: For whē *Aristophanes* taught his *Nephew*, they so much took the people, that they applauded the Poet, cried him up Conqueror, *ὡς περὶ πάντων τοῖς κριταῖς ἀνάνδην Αἰσχρολόω, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλον γὰρ εἶναι*, saies *P. Ælian*, and commanded the Judges to write *Aristophanes* uppermost (as the fashion was, which *q Aristophanes* *q Arib:* 62

yes

nes calls *οὐρανίους* in *πυλῶν*, the most excellent first, the next to him second, and next to him third (which was no small praise, according to that of *Quintilian*, as I remember, *Honestum est in secundis tertisque consistere*) and no other. For which cause I suppose the Poets before reciting, were wont to sacrifice, and pray for the favour of the Judges and spe-

r Loco laud. *Orators.* r *Aristophan.*

Οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς πᾶσι νικᾶν τοῖς κριταῖς  
καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς πᾶσι ---

Where the Scholiast interprets *οἱ μὲν* truly as it is to be understood, *εὐχόμενοι*, to supplicate.

f Banis p. 248

And good reason. For if they pleased not the people in reciting, they were overwhelmed with stones. To which use *Aristophanes* points, saying -- *ὡς ἐβδελύετο*; nay sometime would they hiss them, which they terme *καλῶν* and *συνέττειν*, sometime stamp them out of the Theatre, which they call *πλεονεκτήειν*, by *Pollux* interpreted *ἐδωλῆα* r *πλεονεκτήειν*. Another difference is that the Comick Judges were punished if they judged not right, the Tragick not so. And for these reasons have some conjectured, nay positively written, that their Judges were of two sorts, old and new, in which matter, if there be place for a conjecture, mine is, that they confounded both, making no odds between the Critick Judges of Tragedies and Comœdies. But of this, Reader, you may determine as your Authors shall afford authority. Before Judges, as I said, the Poets in emulation presented their labours, and they who in their opinion lost the day, were said \* *ἐκπύρρειν*, by \* *Casaubon* interpreted *non stare*. The time of exhibiting their Tragedies, were the holy daies of *Bacchus* called *Dionysia* in *agris*, or *Leneæ*, in the month *Posideon*, on the *Anihæstia*, or *Dionysia* in *Lymnis*, in the month *Anihæstia*, on the *Dionysia* in *urbe* in the month *Elaphebolion*, to which I finde added the *Panathenæa* by *Thrasylus* in *Laetius*, which some deny, yet the same write that when *Sophocles* exhibited but one, it was at this festivall. I say but one, because it was a cu some among the Poets of ancient daies to entertaine their people with

\* Heintsius  
Prolegom.  
\* Sat. Poesi.

y Platone p.  
220.

with more plaies then one. *Mos autem Tragicorum Græcorum fuit Athenis, ut modo singulas committerent fabulas, modopluves, saies r Casaubon*: Sometime in the same yeare three, and then was it called *τριλογία*: sometime foure, & then they stiled it *τετραλογία*, *τὰ δὲ τετραλογία Δράματα ἐκαλεῖτο ΤΕΤΡΑΛΟΓΙΑ*. Whereof, saies mine Author, the fourth was a Satyrical play, the three other now treating of the fortunes of one and the same man, as those of *Æschylus*, named therefore *Orestia*, to wit, *Αγαμέμνων*, *Χοηφόρος*, *Ευμηνίδης*. Which are all extant: the fourth was *Proieus Satyricus*. At other times they were not of the same subject, as that of *Euripides*, *Medea Philœctes*, *Diôys*. The fourth was *Θεσπιά*, saies the Author of the argument to *Medea*. Where the interpreter seems to me not to reach to the expression of the Greek word *Θεσπιά*, *Σάτυρος*; *Messores*, *Satyrus*; he ought to have rendred it thus, *Messores*, *Dramma Satyricum*. For that the word bears this sense is sufficiently elucidated by *Casaubon*. That the great task of action lay on the *Chorus*, is as apparent as the Sun at noone. The number of them in Comœdies were twenty foure, and six *juga* (each *jugum* consisting of foure; but *σείχι* foure, each *σείχι* six men) in Tragedies fifty, untill the time of *Æschylus* his *Eumenides*, the number of which so terrified the People, c that the children and younger sort fainted, and the women suffered abortion; for which reason, saies *Pollux*, the number was lessened (which some deny) by law. They were by the Act brought to fifteene, five *juga*: I say *juga*, because they were divided into *σείχες*, and *ζυγά* *ζυγόν* was when the *Chorus* entered by three, & then it was called *τριζυγά* *παιδίον*, by file *σείχι*, when they came on the stage in ranke five at a time; & this they terme *τριζυγά*. Sometime one of them entred alone, which they say *ἑνα*. Of interlocutors the ancients for the most part never had above three; but if a fourth spake, that they named *ὑποκριτής*; and if the *Chorus* supplied the part of a fourth actor, it was stiled *ὑποκρίνων*. To speak of the severall verses of Tragedies, is *αὖθις* agere; *M* and

r De Satyrica  
Poesi p. 131.

a Laetius  
loco citato.

b Lib. laudat.

c Author vi-  
tae Æschyli.

and I had rather speak of the action, then the art in composing & yet not much, only this of their motions, termed *τροπή* & *ἀντιστροφή*. *Σ. Ε. φη*, saies the Scholiast of *Pindar*, is a turning trō the right hand to the left, in analogy to the motion of the universe *τῶ μὲν δεξιῇ*, from the East to the West; because *Homer* calls the East the right hand, the West the left: Contrary to the Hebrews, who terme the South *Jamin*, which signifies the right hand, and the North they counted the left. *ἀντιστροφή* was a turning from the West to the East; that is from the left hand to the right, as the Planets move. Another posture they had in their *Epodes*, for (if it be so in *Tragœdies*, as in *Lyrick Musick*, which I believe) to expresse the immobility of the earth they stood still. They used *Epodes* for the most part at the end of the Acts, when the Players avoided the stage. Thus much of *Tragœdies*; the authors of which were highly of old esteemed of; in so much as after the dismall discomfite of the Athenians in *Sicily*, they were relieved, who could repeat somewhat of *Euripides*. Nay, by a Law made by *Lycurgus*, & established in *Athens*, *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides* had statues erected in brass for the continuation of their memory. After *Tragœdies* had proceeded to perfection, *Comœdies* were with great applause taught, as *Horace*,  
*Succesit vetus his Comœdia, non sine multa*  
*Laude* ---

He saies, *vetus Comœdia*, because a *Comœdy* was divided into three, or if you please so to speak, two sorts, the Old and the New. I said three sorts, because the old was different from it selfe. The meaning is, that the old *Comœdy*, of which *Saxion* (by some named *Sannyrion*,) was author, tended only to laughter, being without order and decency. For the *Chorus* now walking, now dancing about the smoaking Altars, sung *simplex carmen*, some naked verse, saies *Donat*. Which by *Cratinus* was redressed; for he ordained three Actors, and mingled with his sport, profit, I mean for instruction. For under the *Democracy* it was lawfull to exagitate and propose

for

for a laughing stock Captains & corrupt Judges, Citizens given to bribery, and such as lead a dissolute life, naming the men upon the stage, and hitting the Actors with vizards, bearing the shape of those whom they intended to deride. But as the state grew to an *Oligarchie*, that licence was taken away, *Eupolis* being cast into the sea by those, against whom he wrote his *Comœdy Bapte*, and so drowned. Nay, there was a law enacted not *ἰνομασίαν κατασκευάζειν*, to name any whom they wrote the *Comœdy* of. Of which *Horace*,

--- Sed in vitium libertas exiit, & vim

Dignam lege regi. Lex est accepta, *Chrysostomus*,

*Turpiter obicit sublati jure nocendi.*

But when *Alexander of Maedon* grew potent and a terror to *Greece*, the Poets fearing least any of the abusive wit might displease the great *Macedonian*, they changed the Argument of their plaies, & instead of abusing states & people, they fell upō ancient Poets, or some part of History not truly written, personating the Actors so as to be most ridiculous:

Sometimes scoffing on the stage at meane men, & this they termed *Νέη Κομῳδία*, the new *Comœdy*. But afterward it was a piece of the *Athenian* policy to forbid that the people should be tossed on the stage, unlesse they would themselves saies *Xenophon*; knowing that none were wont to be brought thither but the wealthier sort, *πλουτοῖ*, *σοφιστῶν*, *δωδεκαχίλων*. Some are of opinion that no Player came on the stage untill thirty or forty; I dispute not the matter; sure I am that *Sophocles* taught his first *Tragœdy* at twenty eight, in which doubtlesse him selfe came on the stage. It being among the Athenians no disgrace, as the *Romans* accounted it, to appeare there. *Æmilius Probus*. In scenam verò prodire, & populo d. *Præstatione* eff. *spectaculo nemini in eisdem gentibus (Græcis) fuisse turpi-* ad *vitas* p. 2.

tudini: quæ omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia, atq; ab honestate remota ponuntur. The place where the people beheld these plaies and pastimes was in the market place, *ε. Μουσ. Att.* where they nailed scaffolds to a black poplar tree. For in *Leet. l. 4. cult* ancient

a *Hermog.*  
*Partiti. p. 76.*

d *Plut. in fine*  
*vitz Nicæ.*  
*e Plut. in vit.*  
*x. Resp. Paul.*  
*Atticis. p. 18.*

f *De arte Po-*  
*etica.*

\* *Grammat.*  
*η παλαιά*  
*ω τῆς*  
*ἀρχαίας*  
*ῥητι.*



ancient time they had no Theater of stone, only of wood, which they call *ἡσεία*. & Aristophan.

fThesmoph.  
p.787.

--- Ἀπὸ ἡσείας  
ἡ πρὸς τὸν ἡσείας ---

g Casaub. in  
Theoph. p.  
245.

h Zenobius.

i Cont. Leo-  
cha. p. 617. n.  
50. 51.

k Olymth. 1.  
p. 7.

l Lacon. apud  
Plut. Mor. p.  
421.

m Lib. 5. fine.

These were built by some, who upon some consideration of money admitted any to a seat, named therefore *ἑσείας*. Once it seems places were not hired. But there grew great enormities and abuses. For striving to get places, there rose swarming and brawls, and fights; wherefore the Attick Senate ordained that each place should be hired for two *oboli*: (in the Consulship of Diophantus, a *Draohme*, say some, whence rose the Proverb, *ἡ δαρχαὶ χαλῶσαι*; because at the establishing of it, there fell hail) This money they called *θεωεὶον*; from *θεοπεῖν*; because with it they did *θεῶν ἀποδοῦναι*, buy a seat to behold the shew exhibited. Now because the poor people had not to give, & so were deprived of the spectacle, Pericles desiring to be popular, made a law that they should receive out of the Cities revenues two *oboli* each man. i For the right of exacting which money, they were to produce the authority of the *Lexiarchicall* Rolk, as appears out of Demosthenes. For the distribution of this were certain officers appointed, named *ἡ δὲ θεοεὶον*. But afterwards Apollodorus strove that in warre and publike necessity, these summes might be employed in military affaires, but he endeavoured in vaine; Eubulus in flattery to the people, enacting it capiti- tall for any that should attempt that which Apollodorus did; Which makes k Demosthenes desist, willing, yet not daring to persuade to convert the money to the use of the Armie. But see the folly of them! l For they spent as much on these sports as in obtaining the Mastery and liberty of Greece. And the end was miserable for they became effeminate, and so put their necks under the Macedonian yoke. m Justin of the death of Epaminondas. *Siquidem amisso, quem emulari consueverant, in segnitie torporeque resoluti, non ut olim in classem exercitusque, sed in dies festos apparatusque ludorum, reditus*

publicos effundunt: & cum auctoribus nobilissimis, poetisq; theatra celebrant, frequentius scenam, quam castra visentes. Versificatores Oratoresq; meliores, quam duces laudantes. Tunc vestigal publicum, quante millites & remiges alebantur, cum urbano populo dividi ceptum est. Quibus rebus effectum est, ut inter omnia Græcorum, sordidum & obscurum antea Macedonum nomen emergere, &c. Of the Theater I will say little, as also of the stage: Only that the places in the Theater were not promiscuous. For there was a distinction between Senators and yonger sort. The Senators were named *ἡ βουλὴ*, among which it is probable the n Aristoph. p. 578. Judges had the first place, as o Pollux The seats of the youth o Lib. 4. c. 19. were called *ἐφηβείον*. One part of the stage was *Orchestra*, in p. 202. which was *Θυμέλιον* either a Tribunal or an Altar. That upon all their stages there was an Altar sacred to Bacchus, is apparent out of Donat: he saies it stood on one side of the stage, before the doors, Pollux: who names it *Αλυσ*. There was more over a Table called *ἐλκεδς*, on which before the time of Thepsis some body ascending in the Poets place, did answer the Chorus. p Plutarch thinks *Θέστυ* to be derived from p D. Musica *Θέστυ*, because that before the building of Theaters the ancients embracing Musick only for institution of youth and praise of their Gods, sung the commendation of good men and honour of their Deities in Temples.

M 3

L I B.





## LIBER TERTIVS.

## CAP. I.

De Legum latoribus Atticis. Νόμοι ἀρχαιοὶ καὶ ἔγγραφοι. Ἰστο-  
ρῶν. Περίβλεψις. De sanciendo Legibus.

a Lib. 2. p. 27.



b Arist. Plut.  
pap. 67.  
c In Thefeo  
p. 8. l. 2.

d Problem.  
γμ. 19. αρ. κη.  
fol. 189. b.

As *Iustin* hath been too forward in relating the mutation of the Athenian government, passing by the perpetuall and decennial Consuls, and naming only the yearely: so hath he erred in the originall of their Lawes, making *Solon* the Father of them, but it seems otherwise. For, as *Gerardus* hath observed, *Thesius* gave Lawes to the Athenians. And *c Plutarch* witnesseth, that when he congregated the Attick people, and constituted a Democracy, he reserved only to himselfe the government of warre & custody of Lawes. *δικη κραταια* (περίεργον) ὑπὸ μόνον ἀρχοντι πλείων καὶ νόμων φύλακι χρησασθῆναι. Adde to this, that before the knowledge of letters & writing, it was a custome among the ancients to sing their laws, least they might forget them, used in the daies of *a Aristotle* by the *Agathyrst*, a people neere to the *Scythians*. Whence afterwards the

rules

rules of Musick, for the true keeping of time, singing, & playing, are supposed to be called *Νόμοι*. Neither may it be thought otherwise, because all the notes of the *c Lydian*, *Hy-polydian*, &c. *Dorick*, *Hypodorick*, &c. *Phrygian*, *Hypophry-gian*, *Ionick*, &c. songs were distinguished by the Alphabet. Yet *f Plutarch* is of opinion, that they derived the word from those bounds, which the Musicians of old prescribed, for the tuning of voices or instruments, least they might be confounded, and therefore he calls it *δικελαι τῶν*, & *Idem*. *Νόμοι* δὲ προσωποποιεῖται ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξ ἑλῶν περὶ βλῆναι καὶ δέκατον νενομισμένον αἰδῶ & τῶσις. The *Greekes*, saies *h Cicero*, think the cause of this word, *jus suum cuiq;* tribuendo, intimating νέμειν, which signifies to distribute, because the Law gives every man his due. Thus see we, that there were Lawes of yours, let *i Justin* say, *Nulle civi: cui leges tunc erant, quia libido regum pro legibus habebatur*: That the City was without Law, because the wills of Kings were Lawes. In succeeding ages, and before *Solon* too, *Draco* gave Lawes, living about the three hundred and ninth *Olympiad*. His A&S, saies *h Aelian*, were called *θεσμῶι*. *Ἐκελῆντο δ' ἐκείνοι θεσμῶι*. Now *θεσμῶι*, by *m Vlpian* is interpreted νόμος *ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τοῦ νόμου*. A Law giving in precept how to make a Law. And yet *i Aristotle* calls them νόμοι, giving them this commendation, that they are not worth remembrance, but for their great fe-verity. Which gave occasion to *a Herodotus* to say, that they were not the Lawes of man, ἀλλὰ δὲ θεῶν, & in a double sense of the word, which is also put for a Dragon. And *b Demades*, that they were not written with black, but blood For he pu-nished every peccadyllo almost with death, those that were convicted of idleness, or stealing of potheards, alike the sacri-legious and man-slayers. Wherefore were they made of none effect by *Solon*. For he abrogated all, except those which concerned murther, intituled \* *ΦΟΝΙΚΟΙ ΝΟΜΟΙ*. Him succeeded *\* Solon*, a man so well tempered, and equall be-twixt the Commons and the Peeres, that he was beloved of

both

e Vide Alypi-  
um in Isagoge  
Musica.

f In libro de  
Musica.

g Loco citato  
pag. 437.

h De leg. lib.  
1. fol. 16. b.

i Loco laud.  
k Clem. Alex.

p. 225.

l Varia hist.  
l. 2. c. 10.

m Arg. orat.  
con. Lepti.

n Poli. 2. c. 10  
a Arist. Rhet.

l. 2. c. 44.

b Plut. in Sol-  
on. p. 63. l. 2.

\* Demosth.  
p. 70.

\* His lawes  
continued 100  
years saies  
Plutarch in  
strength. In

Solone. p. 66.

c & afterward  
by little and  
little decayed.

Aliau. Var.  
hist. l. 2. c. 22.

l If any speake  
against them,  
he had corpo-  
rall punish-  
ment.

96 *Archæologie Atticæ Lib. 3.*  
both, having still a care, least while he should side with one,  
he might displease the other. Whom, for his uprightness,  
*c* Juvenal styles *Iustum*, and for the care of the Republicke,  
which *d* Demosthenes avers he had in all his Lawes; *e* Ari-  
stophanes termes, φιλάνθρωπος, a lover of the people. *f* Plato  
brings him learning his Lawes from a Barbarian: And *g* Plu-  
tarch tells us that he travelled afterwards into Egypt. But it  
seemes by *h* Ammianus Marcellinus, that in the making of  
his Lawes he had the approbation and judgement of the E-  
gyptian Priests. Et Solon adiutus sententiis Egypti Sacerdo-  
tum, lais iusto moderamine legibus, Romano quoq; Luri muci-  
um addidit firmitatem. *i* Diodorus Siculus relates two  
things brought from thence to the Athenians by him. First,  
that all the Egyptians were compelled to bring to the go-  
vernours of the countries their names written, and by what  
meanes they sustained themselves; wherein if any were  
found false, or that lived by unjust gain, he fell into danger  
of life. Secondly, it was a custome among the, that payment  
should be made only with the goods of the debtor, and that  
the body should not suffer. For they thought the estate alone  
to be subject to the creditor, the body addicted to the Cities  
in which they lived. Neither was it fit that Soldiers, who  
were to undergoe hazard for their country, should for usury  
be committed to prison, or the country be in jeopardy for  
the avarice of some one man. Which induced Solon to make  
the first decree, as *k* Laertius and *l* Plutarch say, of freeing the  
bodies; loane if there were not wherewithall to satisfy the  
craving loaner, were compelled to serve. He therefore cut  
off all use, *a* as some write, or else *b* lessened the burthen of it  
making it more moderate by his Law Σεισάχθεια : so called  
from Σείω, to shake off, and ἄχος, an heavy weight: Forgi-  
ving himselfe first, *c* as Laertius, seven talents; or, as *d* Plu-  
tarch, five. But this seems to have been done for the avoi-  
ding of the aspersion cast upon him as accessary to the inju-  
ries of some, who having an inkling of his intent, borrowed  
much

cSat. 10. vers:  
274.

κατὰ Ανδρ.  
pag. 290.

pag.390.

e Pag. 190.

e Pag. 190.  
El Tiempo

fln Time

John F. Kennedy  
In Solon

g In Solon

; Bibliothec.

*Initio vitæ  
Solonis.*

Solons.  
Un Solone

*In Solone*

62.1.8.

p.62.1.8.

a Plutarch. p

a PITCHER

62.

6 Androtio.

Androtio.

much money with hope of never making restitution. *Cassian* & Laert. p. 14.  
*bon* conceived that this was not his first exploit, but long af-  
 ter: he had sate at the sterne of the Weale-publique. Yet it  
 seemes probable. There being no more compendious way to  
 make a man popular, then to give liberty to the common  
 people. which he to bring in an innovation of Lawes did  
 willingly invent, and they afterwards lovingly accepted For  
 in testimony of their approbation, they kept a Festivall na-  
 med *Σολωνιάδα*. Here likewise you may observe the ancient *Plutarch. p.*  
 flattery of the *Athenians* towards their owne vices, putting 62. l. 43.  
 gilded names on those things, which themselves were asha-  
 med of, calling *γ πόρνη, ἡ γαίραι; φάρμα, συνιδέξαι; οὐλαὶ αὐτῶν, οὐραγῆς* & *Plutarch. loco*  
*πλάτων, δημοκρατίου οἰκίαι* &c. as our blades name drunkenness, laudato.  
 good fellowship; whores, the sinners; and niggardise, thrifti-  
 nesse; springing from this root of *Solons*, who called *χρῶν*  
*ἐποικίω* *Σολωνιάδα*. *h* To these Lawes two ends were pro-  
 posed, Mutual commerce, and direction of behaviour to-  
 wards the state. *i* To curb wickednesse, and injustice; & to  
 punish offenders that they might be bettered. And although *i* Idem p. 484.  
 they were the ordinances of *Draco* and *Solon*, yet may we  
 fitly call them the *Athenian* Civill Law. Each City, as *h* *Institur. 1.*  
*finian* teaches, giving a denomination unto her Statutes. *Nam* Tit. 2. Sed jux  
*si quis vellet Solonis vel Draconis leges appellare jus civile* quidem civile  
*athensium, non erraverit.* They were engraven in tables of *ec* unaquaque  
 wood called *ἱ ἔξων*, triangular, if we may beleieve the *ec* civitate appel-  
*u* Scholiast of *Aristophanes*, who quotes *Aristotle* and *Apol-* latur, veluti *A-*  
*lodorus*, witnessing that they were called *κίβητες* also *Sch. Apollo.*  
*καταγραψῶν εἰς ὑλὸς ἀναγγραψῶν* from the elevation. *n* Some are of *Rho. Argo. 4.*  
 opinion that the Rites pertaining to the Gods & their wor- *m* In Avibus  
 ship were written in the *Cyrbes*, and Lawes belonging to *pag. 604.*  
 men in the *Axonones*. *Apollodorus* sayes that all decrees are *n* *Vize Plur.*  
 called *Cyrbes*, because they were written in stone, and so set *p. 66.*  
 up, a which from their standing were termed *στῆλαι*. I know a *vid* *ἀνὸς ἀνὸς*  
 that decrees, merites, praise & dispraise too, were written in *b* *Vide Non-*  
 stone. whence *b* *ἀνὸς ἐκκληστίας* may be put for a Treatise num 7n Naz.  
 N  
 tending *παρ. 2.*

97. *Laert.* p. 14.

de Laert. p. 14.

np 62.1.42.

g Plutarch. loc  
laudato.

Dem. p. 477.

Idem p. 48.

### 4. Instruction

Tit. 2. Sed iux

quidem civile

2-й этап — подготовка к экзамену

of civitate appel.

clatur,veluti A-

*theniense*.

1 Sch. Apollo.

ρ Rho. Argo. 4.

*m* In Avibus

pag. 604.

**o n: Vize Plur.**

e p.66.

... ..

... a 100 milles

10-20-50

turne their Oxen when they plough, as for the Lawes  
 ΕΚ ΔΙΟΣ ΑΡ' See those that have written of divers  
 'ΦΟΞΗ ΜΟΥ waives of writing.  
 They therefore take the lower, that is turned, & the upper  
 After this manner were the Lawes written, and doubtlesse  
 there were some customes as strong as Lawes. For although  
 the Lacedemonians governed by tradition of custome, & the  
 Athenians by written statutes, as h Josephus; yet surely had  
 their customes great force, inasmuch as i Aristophanes uses  
 it for a proverbe. Αἰσὶν νόμοις κρατοῦντα. A Scholiastes i κεῖν τῷ  
 νόμῳ. ὁ νόμος αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ὡς τὸ θεῖον. So did the Greekes  
 divide

N 2 *Such* 31.

Such or such a day about such a time there should be an assembly to consult of these and those affairs: and this they called a *vesi-* *gion*. When then they were assembled; and the people pu-  
rified, the decree was read: which if the people allowed of,  
stood; if not, decayed. It was forbidden that any should raze  
out a Decree of any table. And he was brought in question  
of life, who should presume in making a decree to pretend a  
fallacie. Now because future time might haply perceive  
some inconveniences to arise by oversight in their Law-  
giver, and that as abuses should happen, which in his daies  
were not discerned, so there would be a necessity of making  
new statutes: It was ordained therefore that every yeare  
there should be *ἐπιχειρητήρια νόμων*, wh ch *Ulpian* expounds  
*διδόναι, ἢ δὲ τι περὶ τῶν νόμων*. A consideration of what  
ought to be done concerning the Lawes. *c* The manner was  
this. Every eleventh day of July in the assembly after the  
Cryer had made his prayers, as his fashion was, & shall anon  
be spoken of, the Lawes were read over in order. First those  
which concerned their Senate, next the weale publique, and  
thirdly the 9. *Archons*, & afterwards the other Magistrates.  
Then was it demanded if there were Lawes enough for the  
Senate, and so for the Common-wealth, &c. If any of the  
Lawes in force were to be abrogated, it was adjourned until  
the last of the three daies of the three *Convocations*; on which  
the *Prytanes*, appointed for the revising and reciting of the  
Lawes, were to take the matter in hand. The *Prædres* chiefe  
of the Assembly, were chosen out of all the *Athenians*,  
at the first meeting, were chosen out of all the *Athenians*,  
who should patronize the Law to be abolished; and accord-  
ding to the judgment of the *Nomotheta*, chosen out of the  
Councell of five hundred, was the businesse carried, that the  
Lawes should be of none effect, or full strength. Whosoever  
should bring in a new Law, was to write in a Table, *e* *ἡς ἀδ-*  
*κουα*, *Demosthenes*, the forme thereof, and set it up at the *Sta-*  
*tues* of the *Heroes* before spoken of, *f* *ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡρώδεσσιν*, which

*a* Sch. in Naz.  
514. a, pag.  
95. vid. *Ulp.* in  
Dem. p. 240.

*b* Demosth. p.  
445.  
*c* Vid. Dem.  
laco cit.

*d* *ἐπιχειρητήρια*  
Demosthen.  
*Ulp.* expounds  
*ὁ νόμος*, *ἢ δὲ τι*  
to report.

*e* Cont. Ti-  
mocr. p. 446.  
*f* Demosth. p.  
297.

which standing in a place conspicuous, that some certaine  
daies before the Sessions, any Citizen might read what was  
to be handled; & if any so pleased, he might at the proposall  
of the Law declare his mind either for, or against it, as at the  
presenting of a *Bill* in our High Court of Parliament, where  
it is not denied any *Burges* or *Knights* of a shire, to speak his  
opinion *pro* or *con*, either with any whole Bill or some part  
thereof, in opposition to it, or some one clause. Provided  
likewise, that he, who attempted to enact a new Statute,  
should take care for the disannulling of the old, that might  
contradict hee, came within the compass of  
*ὑπερβολὴν ὑπερβαίνον*, a writ of *Transgression* of the Lawes, which  
was of two sorts. First, when time is not observed in writing  
them, *a* *ὑπερβολὴν ὑπερβαίνον*. Next when one is made that  
is aduerse to a former. And if it so hapned, that any perswad-  
ed the people to make a Law that was not commodious to  
the weale publique, he might be questioned within *b* a yeares  
space; *c* but if the time was expired, he could not. *d* Nay,  
they slow *Eudemius*, a *Cydiaethenian*, for bringing in a Law  
they liked not; scarce different in that one example from the  
*Licoris*; among whom, he that would propose a Law, should  
do it, his neck adorned with a halter, that if his request plea-  
sed not, he straight way powred out his soule under the  
hands of the hangman. Their Orators, which are called *e* *δὲ*  
*ἐκαστος*, because they lead the people with their Rhetoricke  
and flattery, wrote Lawes and decrees, as we learne out of  
*f* *Demosthenes*; and therefore are they deciphered by *g* *ἀ-*  
*θένηται*, *ἢ δὲ τι περὶ τῶν νόμων*.

CAP. II.

De Comitibus, *Κυβερνήταις* & *ἑκαστοῖς* *Βουλῆς*, &c.

THE Assemblies were called by the *Prytanes* foures *f* *Πόλλυς* 18.  
times in five and thirty daies. *f* In the first they confir-  
med 398.

*a* *Ulp.* in Dem.  
p. 297.

*b* Dem. Orat.  
Arg. cont. Lep-  
tinen.

*c* Dem. p. 439.  
*d* Idem p. 468.  
*e* *Gellius* 1. 3.

*f* *Ulpian* 1. 3.  
*g* *Ulpian* 1. 3.

*h* *Ulpian* 1. 3.  
*i* *Ulpian* 1. 3.

*j* *Ulpian* 1. 3.  
*k* *Ulpian* 1. 3.

*l* *Ulpian* 1. 3.  
*m* *Ulpian* 1. 3.

*n* *Ulpian* 1. 3.  
*o* *Ulpian* 1. 3.

*p* *Ulpian* 1. 3.  
*q* *Ulpian* 1. 3.

*r* *Ulpian* 1. 3.  
*s* *Ulpian* 1. 3.

*t* *Ulpian* 1. 3.  
*u* *Ulpian* 1. 3.

*v* *Ulpian* 1. 3.  
*w* *Ulpian* 1. 3.

*x* *Ulpian* 1. 3.  
*y* *Ulpian* 1. 3.

*z* *Ulpian* 1. 3.  
*aa* *Ulpian* 1. 3.

*ab* *Ulpian* 1. 3.  
*ac* *Ulpian* 1. 3.

*ad* *Ulpian* 1. 3.  
*ae* *Ulpian* 1. 3.





which signifies to throng together, because the people were frequent there. But the more probable reason is <sup>ἐκ τῆς ὕψους</sup> because the place

was open and exposed to the Sunne. And in respect of this <sup>ἄριστος</sup> Aristophanes makes that cold conceit branded by *Didymus*, *Εἰς αὐτὸν ὁ ἥλιος*, *In the morning thou shalt shine in the sun-shine.* At their admission they had this oath given them. *ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔσμεν*, *&c. I will give*

sentence according to the Lawes, and decrees of the people of Athens, and Councell of five hundred: I will not consent to be a Tyrant, or bring in Oligarchie: Neither shall any approbation be to any that will dissolve the Democracie of Athens by speech, or decree, I will not cut off private use, or suffer a division of the Athenian lands or houses. I will not bring back exiled men, or those that are condemned. I will not thrust out of the City any innocent against the Lawes and Statutes of the Athenians, & Senate of five hundred; neither by my selfe or suffer any other. I will not create a Magistrate, who hath not given an account of his former office, whether of the nine Archons, or agents for the holy things, or they, who at the same day are chosen with the nine Archons by lot, Ambassadors and assistants. Neither shall the same man beare the same office twice, or two in one yeare. I will not take gifts for judgment neither my selfe or other for me, or others with my privacy, by fraud or deceit. I am not younger then thirty. I will beare both parties, the accuser and defendant, alike. I will pass judgment aright in the thing prosecuted. I swear I will pass judgment aright in the thing prosecuted.

\* There is also another oath which they took; some clauses whereof, we have left in record. To ratifie the Lawes of Solon. *Plutarch in Solone*. p. 62. To give counsel for the best of the people. To advise according to the Lawes. I will not bind any Athenian, who shall give three or four of the same revennues, unless for treason, or be conspire the subversion of state popular, or buy custome, or be engaged, or gather publique money and not pay it. I will sit in the order which lot shall direct me to. I will not permit any unlesse banished

\* Ulp. loc. laudato. vide & Aristoph. Sc. p. 436.  
a Pag. 486.

b Dem. Orat. cont. Tim.

\* If I transgress any of these, let me and my house perish: but if I faithfully keep them according to my oath, let me be happy and prosperous.

Dem. p. 470.

sed to be accused or imprisoned for what is past. This last was made after the driving out of the 30 Tyrants, when a *Therapylus* gave them to oath *ἐν κοινῇ*, not to remember a Vide *Zeno* ancient wrongs, which they call *ἀμνηστία*. The authority of in *Balw.* this Counsel was great, for it handled causes of war, tributes, making of Lawes, civill busineses and events, affaires of confederates, collections of money, performance of sacred rites, accounts of offices discharged, appointing keepers for prisoners, & *ἀμνηστία* of Orphanes, as b *Xenophon*. c Resembling our Court of Parliament in England, by whose consent all Laws are abrogated, new made, right & possessions of private men changed, formes of religion established, Subsidies, Talies, Taxes, and Impositions appointed, waights and measures altered, &c. As not unlike also the *Venetian Gran Consiglio*, or Senate, of which the *Contarene*, d *Tutta la cura del governo della Republica appartiene al Senato*, &c. The whole manner of the Comon-wealths government belongeth to the Senate That which the Senate determineth is held for ratified and inviolable. By their authority & rule is peace confirmed and war denounced. The whole rents and receipts of the Comon-wealth at their appointment collected & gathered in, and likewise laid out againe and defrayed, &c. In a word, I may say of these five hundred, as *Budans* of the Parliament of France; *Amplissimam eam curiam casuarumq; omne genus deceptricem justam ac legitimam esse*, that that Court is most ample, and justly and equally decided all sortes of controversies whatsoever. To their charge was committed the making of new ships, for which at the yeares end they were to be rewarded by the people. To this alludes e *Aristophanes*. *Ποδάρκῃ τῇ ἡμῶν*; *Ἐν δ' ὅδῳ αἱ τριπλῆς κούραι*, *Ἐπ' ἑμὴν ἡμεῖς*— 93. d Without their consent could the people doe nought, as indeed they made not any thing *συνέκλειον* against the peoples wills. Hence in e *Demosthenes*, *Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐκείνῃ τῇ δὲ δόμῳ*— *ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐκείνῃ*. In testimony of their prehemence are they termed g *Ἰδὲν* *Κύριοι* *φύρου*, and g *ἐν αὐτῇ κούρῃ*. The Lords of sentence. In

Cicinit. Phil. 1. Vclerium. Patereculum 1, 2 p. 84. Arist. Sch. in m. Ctesiph. contr. Athen. Rep. pag. 407. c See Sir Tho. Smith in his Communion-wealth of Eng. land. d As Eranchirio Andirimi hath translated it. lib. 3. fol. 34 B

4 In Pandect. Prio. p. 298.

b Dem. 385. c Avib. p. 546. d Sch. Arist. p. 93.

e Pag. 234. f Demosthen.

g Idem xxi Meislu.



b Plut. in Ci-  
mone p. 356  
l. 50.

time of warre they would send Commissions to their Cap-  
taines, as they thought requisite. b Such as in the battaille be-  
twene the *Lacedæmonians* and their countreymen in *Tana-  
gra*, where fearing least *Cimon* banished by *Ostracisme* should  
betray them to the *Lacæoniæ*; they sent to the commanders  
not to entertaine him in the Army. The honour was not du-  
ring terme of life, but every yeare changed. *Apostolius*,  
ὁ ἴσθ' ἡστ' πρὸς τὸν κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀναρχεῖσθαι Βελδεν. Which  
*Anonymus in Arg. Orat. contr. Androt.* expresses by κατὰ  
ἐνιαυτὸν ἀναρχεῖσθαι. The manner of choosing them is this. a The  
chiefe of every tribe, on an appointed day before the begin-  
ning of the moneth *Hecatombeon*, brought the names of all  
their Tribe that were capable of this dignity, and cast them  
written into a vessell, and into another they put an hundred  
white beanes, and all the rest black; Then drawing out a  
name and then a beane, to whose chance the white beane  
fell to be extracted with his name, was designed Senator.  
This they did when they had but foure Tribes; and so foure  
hundred Senators. But when they had tenne Tribes, there  
could be but fifty white beanes, to the making up of the  
tenth part of five hundred. This differs not from the elec-  
tion observed by the *Venetians* upon the fourth day of de-  
cember, when the names of all the young men that have not  
by lot obtained the right of Citizens, nor passed twenty five  
yeares old, are put into a pot, and carried unto the Prince, &  
there the same set before the Counsellours, with which there  
is another pot, wherein are round balls equall with the num-  
ber of the names written in the first, every one having his  
marke, the fift part of these balls is gilded with gold, the rest  
with silver. The Prince taketh out of the first pot the ball,  
which if it be of the golden sort, the young man whose name  
is drawne, is presently admitted to publique authority, they  
to whom the silver chance, loose it for that time, expecting it  
the ensuing yeare, unless in the meane space they accomplish  
twenty five, at which age all the young Noble men partake  
of

i Vorbo Em-  
mian in De-  
scrip. Reip.  
Athen.

h Contareni.  
l. 1. fol. 11. b.

of the Citties liberties. So every yeare the fift part of the yon-  
kers is chosen to give voice with the other Citizens. The use  
in choosing I deem the same, & shall untill I find authentike  
writers contradict it. But the number, as augmented by *Cli-  
sthenes* according to the Tribes, so by his successours. For  
when they added two the number was encreased 100, by  
reason of the Tribes *Antigonis* & *Demetrias* after named *Ar-  
talus* & *Ptolomais* in honour to the Kings of that name which  
were benefactors to the State a δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν πρεσβυτέρων ἔ-  
σθαι ἡλικιωτῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις. b Out of these were their Judges chosen; *πρὸς παλ.*  
but such as were above threescore yares old. For although *ἂν Arist. Schol.*  
juniors were admitted into this company, yet none judged p. 37.  
under that age. *ἐπὶ ἡλικίᾳ τῷ ἑκατὸν ἔτη, ἢ ἑκατὸν ἔτη.* To  
these was any businesse referred, of which the Senate and  
people were in suspense what to determine. c. *Aristoph. Eun.*  
ἂν ἡ Βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ δὲ λαὸς κείναι αὐτὰ ἀπορροῖσι. *Εὐκλείδης τὰς*  
*ἀλλοτρίους τοῖσι δικασταῖς παραδούσας.* When the Councill and  
people are in doubt how to judge a great matter, they de-  
cree to deliver the guilty over to the Judges. And no mar-  
vell. For the office of a Judge is κύριον κτείναν, prerogative in  
sentence, saies d *Aristotle*; that is, to state those Questions  
which the Law hath not decided. The order of their giving  
sentence before the third yeare of the ninty second Olym-  
piad I know not. Afterwards they sate by turne in their own  
Tribes, every one as his lot fell. For there being formerly ten  
Tribes in *Athens*, they chose out of each five men, & to which  
one of them the chance happened, and sate judge. I cannot  
say that the manner of election was like that of the *Syracu-  
sians* concerning the Priest of *Jupiter*, who taking the names  
of so many as were nominated, and casting them into a  
pot, created him, whose name should first be drawn, of that  
sacred function. But of our own must I speake f When then f *Aristophan.*  
they were appointed, they met, every of them bringing with  
him a table and a wand on which was written a letter that  
did betoken some Judicatory, (For there being ten Tribunals  
every

In vesp p.  
471.

d Pol. l. 3. c. 13.  
ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν ἑνὸς  
ἑκατὸν ἔτη  
ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ  
ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ

e Cic. in Ver.  
rem. Ad. 3.

f Aristophan.  
πλ. p. 30.



liable to *ἡμετέρας δίκης*, a writ of molestation for a false cause Having thus far proceeded, the Impleader gave in a Libell, which held contents of his action, and the summe of the Defendant's answer. This the Greeks call *ἡ Ἀντιγραφὴ*, *Antigraphen*. Though I know also that all cases in law were termed *εὐαγγέλιον*, *εὐαγγέλιον*. They took this course because the Defendant might know what to answer. And because it was ordinary in *Athens* for knaves to accuse out of envy, which is *ἰσοστασία*, they made a Law, that whosoever accused and had not the fifth part of the voices, should be fined a thousand Drachmes. And he that could not prove his objections was also punished in the purse a certaine summe; & which if he paid not at the constituted time was fourefold; & if his ability reached not so far, he suffered imprisonment. At the presenting of the *Antigraphē*, testimonies were also delivered, ( formes of which you shall often meet with in *Demosthenes* ) and a copy of an oath, wich the Suiter gave, in these words *ἡ Τελιῆς καταρτίσας*, that he would justly accuse. *Τελιῆς* *ὑπολογίζεσθαι*, that he would according to truth make his Apologie: and this they name *ἡ ὑπομνήσις*. These writings were cast into a certaine coffer, forth comming as occasion should require; all which *ἡ Ἀριστοφάνης* in one verse comprehends. *Ἀντομνήσις καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰσχυρίων καὶ μαρτυρίων*. They joyned or put together oathes, citations & testimonies. I so interpret it against the Scholiast's mind, who will have *ὑπομνήσις* to be exortations given to the Plantiffe and Defendant to come to composition. But I know that *ἡ περὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ* is *κατεργασθῆναι*, to accuse, in *ἡ ῥαπερὶ* *ἡ* and *ὑπομνήσις*, *ἡ* *κατεργασθῆναι* *ἡ* *μαρτυρίων* *ὑπολογίζεσθαι*. The chest or coffer was called *ἐχίνος*, and of this are the words of the Greeke Oratours to be understood *οἱ ἐχίνοι βάλλειν*. *p Theophrastus* Oratours to be understood *οἱ ἐχίνοι βάλλειν*. *p Theophrastus* of a mad man that would intrangle himselfe in any thing, *ἐχίνον* *ἐν τῷ περὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ*, *ἡ ῥαπερὶ* *ἡ* *μαρτυρίων* *ὑπολογίζεσθαι*. Having *ἐχίνον* in his lap, and abundance of libels in his hands, *Pollux* makes a different exposition of this oath from that

d You have a forme of this in Demosth. p. 628. e Arist. Nub. p. 154. v Sch. f Demost. pag. 716. n 7.

g Arist. Schol. p. 1. o.

h Unum contra Stephan. p. 622. aliud p. 624. 629. i Schol. Arist. Vesp. 505. k In Vesp. p. 504. m Schol. Arist. 239. n idem p. 95. o Demosthen. 622. n. 33. 629. n 80. 640. n. 22. 655. n. 65. 665. n. 66. p Charact. p. 21.

that which other Gramarians doe, confounding, as is most probable, the *ὑπομνήσις* & *ὑπομνήσις*, with *ὑπομνήσις*. For *ὑπομνήσις* is that first oath, which the Plantif gave to the prosequute, the party prosecuted to answer, which on the defendants side was called *ὑπομνήσις*, & generally on both. *ὑπομνήσις* *ὑπομνήσις* *ὑπομνήσις*, follow the delinquent in law: the defendant *ὑπομνήσις* *ὑπομνήσις* *ὑπομνήσις*, to stand stilly to it that he did not trespass. And yet *Ulpian* makes both these one. After this were they that sued one another admitted to the judiciary, it being first demanded of the Suiter, whether he would *persequi*, follow the suit, & had sufficient witnesses, for evidence; in causes capital it was asked if there were need of any, who could not then be present. This interrogation was termed *ἡ Ἀνάκρισις*. If then any thing was deficient, the judgment was prorogued by an *ὑπομνήσις*, or an oath, which the Plantif took, that for the present he could not perform it, but certainly would. Perhaps for that time, pretending sickness, death of friends, or some urgent necessity, on which their fortunes might depend. When then all things were ready, and at hand, they proceeded towards the Tribunal, the Judges first swearing that they would give sentence according to the Lawes, & in those things concerning which there were no Lawes according to conscience and equity ( which the Greeks call *ἡ ἀπομνήσις* ) & of those things only concerning which they did debate. This oath seemes to have been taken at the Altar, from whence they brought their little stones ( of these by and by ) with which they gave sentence. *ἡ Πρωτοκρίσις*. *ἡ* *Πρωτοκρίσις*. The oath is called *ὑπομνήσις*. Then went the Judges to their seates & neatly spred with matts, in Greeke *ὑπομνήσις* and *ὑπομνήσις*, and all others being warned by the *Prætor*, to goe without the bars, in this form *ὑπομνήσις* *ὑπομνήσις*, they late down. For we must know that the *Athenian* Judicatories were environed in as the Romans, with lettuce I suppose, by them

4 Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 505. 6 In Demost. p. 287. 7 Vide. Ulpian in Dem. pp. 347. 8 Bud. in An. not. Rel. ad Pan p. 341. 9 Ulpian in Dem. p. 226. 10 Schol. of Aristoph. 11 makes it the same with 12 Pollux l. 8. pag. 436. 13 Dem. pag. 628. 14 Pag. 122. 15 Aristoph. Sch. p. 239. 16 Demost.

m Poll. lib. 8.  
p. 407.  
n Pollux loco  
citato.  
o This is  
ἀπειρογίνετα.  
Pollux.  
p Pag. 485.  
a Plutarch. in  
Vicia.

called *m* καρχηδοται *Cancellate*, by the Greeks *καρχήδης*,  
n though *καρχήδης*, more properly signify the doore of the *δ*-  
καρχήδης before which was a rope of fifty foot length drawn,  
and publike servants set, that none might enter, but who  
had businesse. The partition I think was but weak, & there-  
fore by *Demosthenes* called ἀδυνή *καρχήδης*. Within which  
none was permitted to come but the Judges. And therefore  
when *a* *Demosthenes* did long to heare *Callistratus* plead  
concerning *Oropus*, he over entreated his *Padagogue* that he  
would bring him, where he might have the happinesse to  
be an auditour. The *Padagogue* therefore acquainted with  
the publike officers that opened the doores, καὶ ἀνοήσαντα  
τὰ δικαστήρια δημοσία, procured him a place where he might  
heare and not be seen, καὶ ἡ καρχήδης ἀδύνατος. When  
then the Judges had gone within the bars, lest any should  
be wanting the *Prætor* cried *Ἐγέρτε* ἐν δὲ δόξῃ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, if  
any Judge be without the doore of the place of judgment,  
let him enter. c Because if any came after the case began to  
be pleaded, he could not have admission. Being then seated  
the Crier read the Inditement, ἐγκλημα (a copy of some part  
of which you have in *d* *Demosthenes*. ΕΒΑΛΕ ΝΙΚΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ  
ΕΠΙΒΟΛΑΙΤΕΑΣ ΕΜΟΙ, &c. in which according to the cu-  
stome of the old *Egyptians*, were given up to the court in  
writing all the reasons of accusation, the wrong received &  
the manner of it, with an estimation of the damage; The  
severall heads of which the Judges wrote downe, least the  
Impleader and Defendant should swerve from that they  
had in hand. Then stood up the Suiter in a pulpit on the left  
hand of the Tribunal, & spake an accusatory oration, made  
for the most part by some of the *Attick* Orators: which use  
brought in by \* *Antiphon* the *Rhamnusian*, & *Clemens* of *A*-  
*lexandria* calls *δικαιολογία*: *ἀδυστοίχως ἐκδοτὶν γράμματα* *Cicero*. *scri-*  
*bere alius causas, quibus in judiciis uteremur*, such as *Lyfias*  
is reported to have done for *Socrates*: Which least it should  
exceed in length, was limited to a certaine time, by a vessell,  
in

b Aristoph. p.  
494.  
c Aristoph.  
Sch. Ibid.

Περὶ Πανταλίου  
p. 567.  
e Boemus De  
Custum delle  
Genti. lib. 1.  
cap. 5.

Arist. Rhet.  
l. 1. c. 33.  
f Stomat. l.  
pag. 226.  
g In Bruto.

in the bottome of which was a small hole for water to run  
as sand doth in houre glasses, thence called *καλέφδεα*, in-  
to which was poured an equall measure of water; and least  
there should be deceit; there was an officer made for that  
purpose named *b* *Ευδοκίας* ὁ ἀπαιρομένη τῶν ὕδατων ἡ καλέφ-  
*δεας*, filling alike for the Impleader and answerer. i When  
therefore the glasse was runne, it was not lawfull for them  
to speake farther, *k* nay for scantinesse of time they were  
compelled to passe by many things, & for that reason were  
they chary of their water, bidding that it should be stopped  
at the reciting of Lawes, or the like, which *Demosthenes*  
intimates in *Συὶ δὲ πάλαι οὐδὲν*, as *ἦν αὖτε ὁπλοῦν* is to stop  
the nose in *l* *Aristophenes*. m *Apuleius*. *At tu interea dum le-*  
*gis, aquam sustine*. *Pancirollus*. *Ne si aqua interim effluxisset,*  
*amplius sibi dicendi prebita foret facultas*, least he might not  
have leave to speake any more, if the water were spent. If any  
would give way to another to speake while his glasse was  
running he might; which *Demost.* testifies; καὶ πρὸ ἐμῆ ὕδατος λα-  
λείτω. But if he would not permit it, he had the *Prætor* cast it  
forth \* *ἔββα* οὐδὲν. *Ulpian*. *τυτέον ἐν ἑαυτῷ*, From which kind  
of pleading it grew into a proverb *b* *ὑπὲρ τῆς καλέφδεας*, c *Ἐ*-  
*πὲρ*, *ad clephydam*, to speake by the houre or an allotted  
time. His speech being ended, he sat down. *d* The defen-  
dant then sitting all that while over against him, untill he  
had finished after addressed himselfe to his answer, which  
he made from the right hand of the Judicatory; where he  
had a pulpit, & station. For this reason (*saies c* *Aristotle*),  
because they would make both parties equall, For the Sui-  
ter having the better part, they gave the upper hand to the  
defendant. Or because *οἱ ἐδρώντες* or defendants, were for the  
most part in custody; If therefore the guard stood on the  
right hand, the defendant stood there also. Thence then he  
pleaded for himselfe; in which plea, he was only to wipe  
out those accusations which adversary laid against him, *ἑω-*  
*νὸν κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῶν αὐτῶν ποιεῖν*, And in that had the plaintiff a  
prerogative

b Pollux. l. 8.  
pag. 404.  
i Ulpian in  
Dem. p. 356.  
k Demost.  
περὶ Βοιωτῶν.  
p 586.

l in Pluto.  
m Apologia.

a Demost.  
c Ulpian.  
d Tusc. Qu.  
l. 2 in fine.  
e Ulpian. in  
Dem. 226.  
f Problem.  
g περὶ δικαιοσύ-  
νης καὶ ἀδυναμίας.  
Demosth. p.  
252.

g Loco laudato. **rogative.** For he might object what he would; nay and as *g Aristotle*, forecast all before he commenced his suit, and feigne to himselfe what he pleased; The defendant perhaps innocent, was at that instant to clear himselfe, *h* either by witness, or probabilities, of all doubts, whatsoever the plaintiff could cast in. Sometimes the Plaintiff & defendant would define Advocates of the Judges, *Συνόρους*, hence *ἐν ἡμέρῃ συνόρων*, to plead for a fee. In the time of their pleading, witnesses were called, who came in, & gave their testimonies, & after they had uttered what they had to say, they went to the Altar (as it seemes to me, either in, or very nigh the Judicatory) & swore *k Cicero. Athenis nunc cum quidam apud eos sancte graviter q̄ vivisset, & testimonium dixisset publice, & ut mos Græcorum est jurandi causa ad aras accederet, una voce omnes Judices, ne si juraret, reclamasse.* They report that in Athens, when a certaine man (*l Xenocrates*) who had lived godly & gravely among them, had given witness, & as the fashion of the Greeks is, approached to the Altar to take oath, all the Judges with one voyce cryed, that he should not (They would not, it seems, have belief rather be bound with religion then truth) Fit to this is the answer of *Pericles* to a friend of his desiring him *εὐνοῦντο ἰδίῃς* to testifie a lye, which he was to avouch with an oath, I am your freind, quoth he, to the Altar, that is, as far as conscience, religion, & honesty shall permit; hence *ῥῆσι βωμὸς φίλος* *Plut. Apoph.* *ῥῆσι ῥῆσι* ad aras grew, I suppose to be a proverb. *Plut. Apoph.* p. 112. Whether in this ceremony they touched the Altar, I cannot justly say; in delivering their testimonies they were wont to touch the tips of the eare (for reason to me unknown) called *λοβοὶ* from *λαβόντες*, *Etymologicon*; (But I rather may suppose it to be a Roman fashion, where the Plaintiff was wont to pluck his witness by the eare, for remembrance sake. *Horace lib. 1. Sat. 9. Licet antefari ego vero Oppono auriculam*—To which *Virgil* looked, saying *Cynthia aurem vellit & admonuit. Eclog. 6.*) and at the end thereof

thereof with all destruction to themselves and house if they dealt falsely. Which if they did, they were subject to a writ *ἡσθησμένον*, of false witness, and he that suborned them *κακὸς ἡσθησμένον*. Sometimes the witness was not present at the doing of the wrong, but took it from others by hear-say, which the Greek Lawyers term *ἀκούσιον*, as *m ἀκούσιον ἐπὶ τῷ κώ ταν*, *m Demost.* when they take from those that are dead, which went for current, & was allowable. But to bring a testimony from the Mouth of one that was alive, and within the territories of Athens, it would not passe. As neither theirs who were discarded the liberties of the City, *ἀτιμίαι* or servants, or any man in his own cause. <sup>a</sup> The manner of witness was twofold, either by personal appearance & testifying *ἑαυτοῦ παρόντος*, and then he was called *μάρτυς*, in no case liable to the Law, *καὶ δὲ δικῶν*; or else by writing, by which he offered himselfe to his questions or attachments in Law, against whom he witnessed; if he were not true; and this is *ὑπομνηματισμός*. Both parties being heard & the altercation ceased, the *Prætor* cried, *To whom E. N. hath seemed to violate right*, (so they interpreted *ἐδίκειν*, *ju violare*) *let him cast in the black stone, or hollow, to whom he seemeth not, the whole or White.* For we must know that anciently the Greeks gave their sentences with black and white pebbles, called *ῥαβδον* (which the French seemably terme *Procellaines*, *χρῖσις porcum*) *c Ovid.*

*Mos erat antiquis, niveis atrifq̄, Lapillis,  
His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpâ.*

The antique fashion was with white stones to absolve, with black to condemn the accused. Pertinent to which is the saying of *Alcibiades*, when he was called out of Sicile to goe home and answer for his life, counting it foolish to goe thither, whence he was never like to escape; when one asked *ked d ἔπευεσθῃ πατρίδι τῷ αἰετὶ κελεύειν*; Wilt thou not trust thy country which begat thee to be thy judge? *Οὐδὲ τῷ αἰετὶ*, quoth he, *ἀδίκημα γινώσκων ὅτι ἀνείηται τὸ ἀληθές*, τῷ μέγαλον μὲν ἀλφῶν τῷ λευκῷ. *Plut. Mor. p. 140.* No not her, that brought me

*b Aristoph.*  
438.  
*c Metamorph.*  
15. F. 1.

*d Ælian. Var.*  
lib. 1. c. 38.  
*Plut. Mor. p.*  
140.

me forth. For I feare least the being ignorant and not conceiving the truth, mistake the black for the white stone. The blacks made *trifism sententiam*, and was so named, the sad sentence; the white *candidam* or acquitting. They used likewise black and white beanes; in respect of which *Pythagoras* is thought to have spoken as a riddle *καυχμας καὶ ἑσθιειν*, not to eat beanes, by *e Nemus* interpreted *καὶ περὶ δίδοντας τὸ δίδωμι* or *δωδωκέναι* *ἡ γυναικας*, not to undermine justice with bribes; or that men should get by the perverting of equity. I see no reason but that I may think he means men ought not to be forward in getting places of judgment. For *καυματος* in *Aristophanes* is by the Scholiast expounded *δίκης* & *γυναικας* *ἡ γυναικας* is used for a Judge, which properly signifies an eater of beanes. But afterwards they had little pellets of brasse; The bloody ones of them were peirced through, therefore termed, *ἡ τερψιμένης*: the saving were whole, *ἄτροποι*. Of these every one took, of each one, from the Altar, as I have said, *i* where laying their hands upon the *ψῆφος*, or bals they intimated by a transposition of them (as from the black to the white, and from the white to the black againe) that they would not for envy or by respects, but indifferently and truly judge. When then they were ready to passe sentence *a* the *Prætor* carried about the *Κάδαν*, or *Καδίσκον*, a certaine pitcher (for so *b Xenophon* calls it *ὠδελαν*) having on the mouth of it a conveyance like a Tunnel, named *κηλὸς*, but the top thereof was covered close, except a little hole for one pellet at a time to be put in, made for the avoiding of deceit. I suppose, least one man might cast in more; and therefore were they to touch the *ψῆφος*, only with the fore-finger, middle, and thumb. *c Aristoph.* *Τὸς πρῶτος σπυρίχων ἦν δακτύλων, ἀνίσταται.* But we must know that the black and white pellets were not promiscuously cast into one pot, but two; *d* The one which freed was made of brasse called *αἰτίτης*, whether because they first threw into it their voices, or because it may signify the better, I know not; The other that condemned, being

wooden

wooden *ὠδελαν*. After the Crier had gone round with both, because some would keep their bals, and for favour nor give their voice against a friend or a great person, therefore he cried *εἰ τις δ' ἔφησεν; ἀνίστασθαι*, who hath not cast in his ball? let him rise. So he rose and threw it in. Then they took them out and numbred them; and in matter of lands, money or the like, whose vessell (for there was as many set as the number of the litigants came to) had most; got the upper hand. At the counting of them a Magistrate stood by with a rod, & laid it over those that were told, lest they should mistake the one for the other or wittingly doe it. For so were they wont to doe; thence named *f* *Ἀποκρίπτου*. Which *g* *Tæmur* objects to *Menelæus* about *Ajax*, when by his deceit the armour was given to *Ulysses*; and therefore he calls him *κρίπτης* *Ἀποκρίπτης*. Sch. *ὁλόν κεκτῶν*: not amisse *Ἀποκρίπτης*. *h* When the number was known, if the white or solid bals were more, they took their tables, which they had in their hands, and drew a short line, as a token of absolution; if the black or hollow were more they drew a longer line, as condemning. Hence *i* *ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς μακρόν*, may be used, for to condemn every body. The thing it selfe they termed *κἀλουζέειν*, as *Aristophanes*. By this the one party being overthrown (*l* as none never was without the sentence of the Judges) his adversary wrote down what damages he should pay, which they terme *ἐμπελάειν*. *m* *Plutarch.* *δὲς τὰς ἐνταμίαια ἐκείνη ἥ δὲ δίκων ἐμπελάειν*. *n* For it was a use of old for those that went to Law to make agreements (I know not whether by oath, for they did sweare by three gods *καὶ τὸν καὶ δαίμον, Ἐξαιεθεῖον*) and put it into the *Echinus*, that they would stand to such and such conditions, before sentence, that he that was cast should undergoe somewhat; and afterwards *ἐμπελάειν*, that is set downe what losse of limbs or life, or meanes &c. For although they did *οὐκ ἐμπελάειν* give their estates as pledges to answer and meet at the Court; yet it may be that might be lesse or more then the fine. There was

in

*e* In Naz.  
Stellit. 12.

*f* Pagina 290.  
*g* Lyubkara.  
p. 870.

*h* Pollux 18.  
pag. 407.  
*i* Ulpian in  
Dem. 407.  
*j* Ulpian in  
Dem. p. 162.

*a* Aristoph.  
485  
*b* .ag. 263.

*c* Pag. 437.  
vide Scholiast.  
*d* Aristoph.  
Vespis 500.

*e* Aristoph.  
Vespis.

*f* Schol. Naz.  
in *em.*  
*g* Sophocles  
Ajace. p. 68.

*h* Schol. Arist.  
438.

*i* Aristoph.  
Vesp. loco.  
cit.

*k* Pag. 491.  
*l* Aristoph. p.  
472.

*m* Clossius.  
p. 454.

*n* Schol. Arist.  
in *em.* pag 50.

*o* Schol. Arist.  
440.



<sup>a</sup> Budæus in  
Pand. No.  
Relig. p. 31.  
<sup>l</sup> Demost. in  
Mid. 347.

<sup>m</sup> Cont. An-  
dro. 388.

<sup>n</sup> Dem. p. 406.

the accused was <sup>as</sup> among the Romans, whence <sup>the</sup> *Rei periculi* exposed in a public table to the view of all men, which they terme *ἐπιδήμιον* Demosthenes *ἐν ἐκδοτῷ τοῦ ἡ. Εὐαρί-  
ου. Ulpian. ἐπετὸς ἐν τῷ πάλαι βασιλείῳ*. You see here the place too, viz. at the Statues of the *Eponymi*. Before a man was convicted, all that they objected to him was but *ἀδίκη*, by *m* Demosthenes termed *φάσις* *ἀδίκη*. a bare report: but after proöfe *ἐγγύχαιον* *ἐν τῷ ἀνέστρατε*, *ἡ τῶν ἀδελφῶν* *ἐν τῷ ἀνέστρατε*. After judgement past, *ἡ ἀδίκη*. An indictment of sacrilege, theft, murder, treason, is but *ἀδίκη*: the evidence and conviction makes it *ἐγγύχαιον*, the sentence *ἀδίκη*.

## CAP. III. SECT. II.

*De Areopago. & ejus appellatione. Areopagita.*

<sup>a</sup> When Tul-  
lus had divi-  
ded the Roman  
field, he made  
on high hills and  
places fortified  
by nature, refu-  
ges for the hu-  
bandmen and  
called them  
*ἀγροί*,  
Dion Hal. 4.  
Not as if it  
signified a vil-  
lage, but as it  
was situated, For  
Pagus villa ru-  
stica comes from *μῦθος* Because built neere a well, Perot. <sup>b</sup> In Act. p. 136. <sup>c</sup> Eumenid.  
p. 296. <sup>d</sup> Elea. p. 836. <sup>e</sup> Metamorph. l. 6. fab. 2. <sup>f</sup> Vide Scalig. in coniect. <sup>g</sup> De  
moist. p. 413. Paul. 26. Simeon Met. c. Pachym. in vit. Dionys. Areopag. <sup>h</sup> Loco citato.  
Paul. Attic. p. 31.

ON the hill, on which the *Acropolis* was built, stood the *Areopagus*, in the old translation of the Acts of the Apo-  
stles rendred *Vicus Martius*, by our Englishmen, *Mars his*  
street, falsely. For *ἡ ἀδίκη* beares not that signification, but  
what <sup>b</sup> Justin Martyr interprets, *ἡ ἀδίκη*, an eminent  
place. For <sup>c</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη* *ἡ ἀδίκη* *ἡ ἀδίκη*. For that Judicial  
tory was on a high rock I therefore named by <sup>d</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, &  
<sup>e</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>f</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>g</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>h</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>i</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>j</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>k</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>l</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>m</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>n</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>o</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>p</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>q</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>r</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>s</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>t</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>u</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>v</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>w</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>x</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>y</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>z</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>aa</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>bb</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>cc</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>dd</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ee</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ff</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>gg</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>hh</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ii</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>jj</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>kk</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ll</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>mm</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>nn</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>oo</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>pp</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>qq</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>rr</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ss</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>tt</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>uu</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>vv</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ww</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>xx</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>yy</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>zz</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>aaa</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>bbb</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ccc</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ddd</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>eee</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>fff</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ggg</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>hhh</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>iii</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>jjj</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>kkk</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>lll</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>mmm</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>nnn</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ooo</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ppp</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>qqq</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>rrr</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>sss</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ttt</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>uuu</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>vvv</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>www</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>xxx</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>yyy</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>zzz</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>aaa</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>bbb</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ccc</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ddd</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>eee</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>fff</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ggg</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>hhh</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>iii</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>jjj</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>kkk</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>lll</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>mmm</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>nnn</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ooo</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ppp</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>qqq</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>rrr</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>sss</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ttt</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>uuu</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>vvv</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>www</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>xxx</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>yyy</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>zzz</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>aaa</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>bbb</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ccc</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ddd</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>eee</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>fff</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ggg</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>hhh</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>iii</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>jjj</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>kkk</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>lll</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>mmm</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>nnn</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ooo</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ppp</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>qqq</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>rrr</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>sss</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ttt</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>uuu</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>vvv</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>www</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>xxx</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>yyy</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>zzz</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>aaa</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>bbb</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ccc</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ddd</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>eee</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>fff</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ggg</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>hhh</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>iii</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>jjj</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>kkk</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>lll</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>mmm</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>nnn</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ooo</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ppp</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>qqq</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>rrr</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>sss</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ttt</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>uuu</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>vvv</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>www</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>xxx</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>yyy</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>zzz</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>aaa</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>bbb</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ccc</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ddd</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>eee</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>fff</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ggg</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>hhh</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>iii</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>jjj</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>kkk</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>lll</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>mmm</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>nnn</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ooo</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ppp</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>qqq</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>rrr</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>sss</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ttt</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>uuu</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>vvv</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>www</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>xxx</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>yyy</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>zzz</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>aaa</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>bbb</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ccc</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ddd</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>eee</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>fff</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ggg</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>hhh</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>iii</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>jjj</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>kkk</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>lll</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>mmm</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>nnn</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ooo</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ppp</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>qqq</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>rrr</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>sss</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ttt</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>uuu</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>vvv</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>www</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>xxx</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>yyy</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>zzz</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>aaa</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>bbb</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ccc</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ddd</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>eee</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>fff</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ggg</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>hhh</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>iii</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>jjj</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>kkk</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>lll</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>mmm</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>nnn</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ooo</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ppp</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>qqq</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>rrr</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>sss</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ttt</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>uuu</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>vvv</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>www</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>xxx</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>yyy</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>zzz</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>aaa</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>bbb</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ccc</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ddd</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>eee</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>fff</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ggg</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>hhh</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>iii</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>jjj</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>kkk</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>lll</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>mmm</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>nnn</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ooo</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ppp</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>qqq</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>rrr</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>sss</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ttt</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>uuu</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>vvv</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>www</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>xxx</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>yyy</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>zzz</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>aaa</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>bbb</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ccc</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ddd</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>eee</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>fff</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ggg</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>hhh</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>iii</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>jjj</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>kkk</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>lll</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>mmm</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>nnn</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ooo</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ppp</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>qqq</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>rrr</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>sss</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ttt</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>uuu</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>vvv</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>www</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>xxx</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>yyy</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>zzz</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>aaa</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
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<sup>ttt</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>uuu</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>vvv</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
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<sup>lll</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>mmm</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>nnn</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
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<sup>rrr</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>sss</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ttt</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>uuu</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>vvv</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>www</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>xxx</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>yyy</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>zzz</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>aaa</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>bbb</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ccc</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
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<sup>ggg</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>hhh</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>iii</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
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<sup>ppp</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>qqq</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>rrr</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
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<sup>kkk</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>lll</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>mmm</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
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<sup>ttt</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>uuu</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>vvv</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
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<sup>zzz</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>aaa</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>bbb</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
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<sup>fff</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ggg</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>hhh</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
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<sup>lll</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>mmm</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>nnn</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ooo</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ppp</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>qqq</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>rrr</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>sss</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ttt</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>uuu</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>vvv</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>www</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>xxx</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>yyy</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>zzz</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>aaa</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>bbb</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ccc</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ddd</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>eee</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>fff</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ggg</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>hhh</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>iii</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>jjj</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>kkk</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>lll</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>mmm</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>nnn</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ooo</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ppp</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>qqq</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>rrr</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>sss</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ttt</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>uuu</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>vvv</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>www</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>xxx</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>yyy</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>zzz</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>aaa</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>bbb</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ccc</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ddd</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
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<sup>hhh</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>iii</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>jjj</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>kkk</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>lll</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>mmm</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>nnn</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ooo</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ppp</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>qqq</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>rrr</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>sss</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ttt</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>uuu</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>vvv</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>www</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>xxx</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>yyy</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>zzz</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>aaa</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>bbb</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ccc</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ddd</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>eee</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>fff</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ggg</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>hhh</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>iii</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>jjj</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>kkk</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>lll</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>mmm</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>nnn</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ooo</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ppp</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>qqq</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>rrr</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>sss</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ttt</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>uuu</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>vvv</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>www</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>xxx</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>yyy</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>zzz</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>aaa</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>bbb</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ccc</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
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<sup>ggg</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>hhh</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>iii</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
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<sup>mmm</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>nnn</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ooo</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
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<sup>vvv</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>www</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>xxx</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>yyy</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>zzz</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>aaa</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>bbb</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ccc</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ddd</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>eee</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>fff</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ggg</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>hhh</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>iii</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>jjj</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>kkk</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>lll</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>mmm</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>nnn</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ooo</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ppp</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>qqq</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>rrr</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>sss</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ttt</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>uuu</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>vvv</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>www</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>xxx</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>yyy</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>zzz</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>aaa</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>bbb</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>ccc</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ddd</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>eee</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>fff</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>ggg</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>hhh</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>iii</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>jjj</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*, <sup>kkk</sup> *ἡ ἀδίκη*.  
<sup>lll</sup> *ἡ*



b Vide Maximum in P. O. log. ad S. Dionysii, opera & Niceph. l. 2. in vita Dion. c Pachym. d Loc. in Areopag. p. 133. e Loco supra laudato. f Attid. l. 2. g Anonym. in Argu. Oratio Androcia. \* They were of those Magistrates that were chosen by Lot, as the Archon, Theismothetæ, Basilæus, Polemarchus, for which cause Pericles was not of that number because he never attained to those offices. Plut. in Peric. p. 113. h Anonymus loco laudat. i De statu Italiz adversus Machiavel.

lessened the authority of it, deriving it to the *Epheta*; Solon restored that authority & made it greater. b To this company none were admitted, but wise, wealthy, and noble men; c famous for good life, and innocency, τὸ ἐν αἰσὶ ἀνεπίεικτον, whom no man could justly charge of misdemeanour. Nay men, whose behaviour was intolerable, δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοῖς ἀνέχοντο, after they were chosen into the Colledge of the *Areopagites*, abhorring and blushing at their former dispositions, ἀκύνοντες τὴν πόλιν, changed their natures, and embraced vertue. The number of them is uncertaine. e *Nicephorus* makes them but nine, as *Maximus* too out of f *Philochorus*; *Pachymerus* fifty and one. But what *Maximus* produces after, is somewhat, that they consisted of fifty and one, besides the Nobility most wise and rich. αὐτοὶ δὲ Εὐπατριῶν ἔξω, besides the Nobility most wise and rich. αὐτοὶ δὲ Εὐπατριῶν ἔξω. By which words he seemes to ayme at the nine *Achontes*, g who when they had governed one yeare, and given an account of their offices, and had administred all things justly, were chosen yearly into this society. For which election annually, the number was doubtful. For some might dye in that space; or all live, and in the next yeare be encreased. Volaterran out of an old inscription in *Acropolis*; that they were three hundred; τὸ ΑΛΜΠΟΤΑΤΕ, &c. To the most famous *Rufius Festus*, *Proconsul* of Greece & *Areopagite*, the Councell of *Areopagus* consisting of three hundred; and the people of *Athens* let up this monument for a testimoniall of his good will and benevolence. But that might onely happen when this was erected. h They continued all their life time in this dignity, and were never put out, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐκβλήθησαν, unlesse for some grand offence. i *Bozium* tells us (how true I wot not) that they were all Priests. *Atheniensēs* (how true I wot not) that they were all Priests. *Atheniensēs olim*, &c. The *Athenians*, quoth he, did strive to challenge to themselves the prerogative of wisdom, and to them it is bent what the Apostle saies, *The Greeks seek after Wisdom*. Neverthelesse their *Areopagus*, who had the power of all things consisted of Judges that were Priests, and the High Priest

Priest of all that asked every of their sentences, took the suffrages. Their authority was unlimited. For k they were overlords of all, Judges of wilfull murders, wounds given out of pretended malice: which would make some, having a desire to drive a man out of *Athens*, goe to a Chyrurgeon & make an incision in their heads, that they might sue him who they hated upon an action of battery, as *Mantithem* against *Boetus*. They sate upon incendiaries, and impositors, if the party died they tooke their doles. a They saw that the Laws should be put in execution, such as *Contaren* would have in *Venice* to be Guardians to their Statues. c In a word all great delinquencies came under their censures. They enquired into the behaviours of men; & we read in d *Xenophon* that they sharply reprov'd a young man for his loose living. *Αραγὰς ἀνὴρ ὁμοῦ αὐτῶν ἦν Ἀθηναιοπατριῶν*, &c. saies the *Dipnosophist*, e *Valerius Maximus*. Est & ejusdem urbis f sanctissimum conciliū 167. *Areopagus* &c. There is likewise in that City the most sacred Councell *Areopagus*, where they were wont most diligently to enquire, what every of the *Athenians* did, by what gain he maintained himselfe, and what his trade and actions were. That men, knowing and remembring that once they must give an account of their lives, might embrace honesty. g The Greek author tells us that except in great cases of necessity they medled not with state affaires, but it seemes otherwise. For if any one say, quoth h *Tully*, that the *Attick* Republique can be well governed, without the councell of the *Areopagites*; he may as well say that the world may be governed without the providence of the Gods. When the *Medes* and *Persians* invaded Greece, i by the advise of them was the war waged, wherein *Themistocles* purchased an everlasting memory of a victory k And when their publique treasury was bare, they furnished each man with eight *Drachmes*, and stored the ships with Mariners. Which advise, when they had wonne the day, was a cause, saies l *Aristotle*, συντινὼντες οὖν μίσθον ἡ πόλις, to give strength and sinewes to the

m Isocrates  
A. cop. p. 132.

Common wealth. *m* Under their sight were all the youth of Athens. For this reason especially, because that when they were reckoned among men, and were come to age, they needed more care to be had of them, then when they were children; not observed by our Countrymen in sending their sonnes young to the *Innes of Court*: youth and heat of blood, unskilfulnesse in judgement, rashnesse in adventures, & pronenesse to vice, leading, or rather carrying headlong tender yeares to their own destruction. To them appertained blasphemies against their Gods, violating of religion, & divulging mysteries, as when *n* *Euryclides* the Hierophanta in answer to the question of *Theodorus*, τίς εἰνὶ δὲ ἀνθρώποις οὐκ ἐπιτελεῖται; who offended against the mysteries? Οἱ τοῖς ἀμύτοις αὐτὰ ἐπιτελεῖται, replied; such as open to them to those who are not initiated. Therefore, quoth the Philosopher, art thou impious: For which crime had not *Demetrius Phalerens* befriended him, the Hierophanta was in danger, εἰς Ἀσπίον ἀναγχεῖσθαι, to have been brought before the Councell of *Areopagus*. By vertue of which authority *S. Paul* was here judged for teaching strange Gods (as they supposed.) *n* For although that the Athenians were under the Romans, yet their Lords made them *αὐτοῖς, sui juris*, & permitted them to keep their ancient customes. The manner of proceeding in this Court, was thus. After the felony committed, the appellant brought his indictment to the *Basileus*, who giving the prisoner and his accuser audience once a month, at three severall times to debate the businesse, in the fourth month, brings in the accusation to the *Areopagites*, *b* and putting off with the crown, which he was wont to weare, sate downe as judge with the *Areopagites* in the dark: for they judged by night, saies *c* *Lucian*, that they might not regard the speaker, but what was spoken. It being there forbidden *d* *μερομήδεος* ὁ δὲ μὲν, to move to compassion, and use Proems, as in other Courts, wherein they craved the Judges favour and attention, which by *Demosthenes* are termed *e* *μερομήδεος*. This *f* *Aristotle*

n Laert. lib. 2.  
in Aristippo.  
p. 154.

a Simeon  
metaphrast.

b Pollux, l. 8

c Hermotim.  
p. 505.  
d Pollux pag.  
405  
e Vide Ulp.  
in Demost.  
pag. 39.

*Stole* calls *ἔνα δὲ μερομήδεος* *ἄνευ* to speak beside the matter. Before the trial both parties sweare (which they stile *g* *ἡρκυαί*) The appellant standing upon the *testes of a Goat*, a Ram & a Boll (usuall to the Greeks, as *Tyndarus* swore the *Suitors of Helena*, that they should revenge any wrong done to her and her predestinated husband, *οὐδὲν ἔτι καὶ ἡμῶν τυγχαί*, and *Hercules* the children of *Helem* *οὐκ ἔτι καὶ ἡμῶν τυγχαί*) to k oath, therefore nan ed *ἔνα δὲ μερομήδεος*, in which he maineined that he dealt justly and rightly, & that he was joyed in affinity to the slain man; *k* which if he were not, he could not prosecute, the Law forbidding. The reason why he stood *ἐν τοῖς*, I suppose is, because they are the instruments of generation, and in that oath, if he were not true, he wished an extirpation of his house, himselfe and his posterity. In which if he were perjured, he was liable to no punishment, as among the Romans *i* *juris jurandi contempta religio satis Deum ultorem habet*. For swearing is punished by a revenging God, but if any swore false by the life of the Prince, he fell under the *Julian Law*, *Lesæ Majestatis*. After this the prisoner swore; which among us will not be allowed. Then setting each of them upon a two silver stones, one of which was named *αἰὼς* *τῆς* *ἡμέρας*, the stone of iniquity; the other *Ἀρεῖ* *ἑλίας*, by *Adrian Junius* thought *Ararias*, of innocence, not impudence. Then the appellant asked the prisoner three questions, which *b* *Æschylus* calls *τελεῖ μερομήδεος*. First, whether he were guilty or no, *c* *εἰ ἡγέμενος* to which he answered, *ἐν τοῖς* or *ἐκ τοῖς* yea or nay: secondly, *ὅπως κατέχευται* for what reason he did the murder: thirdly, *τίς* *ἐκ* *ἡμῶν*, who were the Abettors. Then arose there certain Lawyers, *ἑγγυηταί*, who shewed whether the murder was committed *d* *πρὸς* *δικῇ* in *d* *Æschylus* justice: (*e* For in Athens there were such Counsellours, to whom in matters of difficulty they had resort) By *ὁ δὲ*, *f* *Draco* thought it lawfull to kill a man As taking him committing uncleannes with wife, mother, sister, daughter, or concubine, or any who

g Pollux loco  
laudato Dem.  
cont. Aristocr.  
p. 413.

h Paulanias  
Lacon p. 103.

i Idem Mella.  
p. 126.

k Den. lib. p.  
608 & 416.

These agreed  
Lucas Pollard.

about the pu-  
nishment, ac-  
cording to the  
law.

De Ader.  
p. 449.

Lib. 2. C de  
rehered.

a Paul. Attic p.  
27.

b Eumenid. p.  
202.

c Ibidem.

d Ibidem.

e Ibidem.

f Ibidem.

g Ibidem.

h Ibidem.

i Ibidem.

k Ibidem.

l Ibidem.

m Ibidem.

n Ibidem.

o Ibidem.

p Ibidem.

q Ibidem.

r Ibidem.

s Ibidem.

t Ibidem.

Vid. Demost.  
cont. Aristocr.

he accounts among his children; the party so offending might be slain in the manner by him, against whom he had trespassed Likewise in the defence of a mans goods, if the thesee were killed, impunity was granted. After this inquisition, were passed to sentence, which was given very privily, as *Intimatus*, *Ergo occulta reget, ut Curia Martis Athenis*; without speaking (as the *Tabellares sententia* of the Romans; if the case were not manifest) hence *Αρεοπαγίτης* *εργαλειος*, for one that is close and silent; and *Αρεοπαγίτης*, for one that is grave, and who can hold his peace, & in whose countenance is *g tristis* (severitas). *Οτι οὐδ' ἀνδραπῶν ἢ γυναικῶν ἢ σκυμνῶν*. Whatsoever they concluded of, stood irrecoverable, & neither could there be any appeal to another Tribunal. And no marvel. For so upright was their sentence, & that none either Appellant or Prisoner, could ever say, that he was unjustly condemned. Nay both parties, as well those that are cast, as they that cast, are like contented. *ἡ δὲ ἀποστολὴ ἐργαλειῶν βούλων τοῖς καταδικαστέοις*. After doom the prisoner was to suffer death. In which execution also the *Areopagites* had a care lest the innocent should be punished with the guilty. When therefore they had condemned a woman for poisoning another, they deferred the execution, because she was great with child, and straight way after her delivery put the mother to death. Which custome is by us also observed at our Assises. It will not be amiss to relate one memorable thing done in the time of *Dolabella* Proconsul of *Asia*, who, when a dame of *Smyrna* was brought before him, for killing her husband & son, who had deprived her of a hopefull youth, begot of her by a former husband, referred the audience of the matter to the *Areopagites*; who commanded the woman and her accuser to appeare some hundred years after; that by such a bot-tome of time, scarce able to be unwinded, they might shew, that neither would condemne nor acquit the woman. One thing more, *Quintilian* tells us, that they condemned a boy

Vide Sylvium  
in Oed. pro  
Flacco.

g Terentius,  
h H τὸ πῶν  
ρεως ἐκ τῆς  
πρὸς τοὺς π  
φίλους.

Pachymerius.  
i De nost. cont.  
Aristocr. p.  
413.

k Aristides  
l om. i. p. 185.  
m Arian. Var.  
n. l. l. 5. c. 13.

m Valer. Max.  
p. 322.

a Lib. quinto.

for putting out the eyes of Quailles. Because it was a signe of a mind, likely to prove most pernicious. Their power was shaken and somewhat pluckt downe by *b Ephialtes*, a sore enemy of *Oligarchieall* government, and more enclining to the people, who was secretly slain by *c Aristodimus of Tanagra*. They sate three daies every Month, *τρεῖς ἡμέρας*, rickle p. 112.

## CAP. III. SECT. III.

## De Judicio ἐν Πάλλαδι.

After the siege of Troy some of the Grecians came with *A Diomedes*, who kept the *Palladium*, to the coast of *Attica*, and arriving by night at *Phalerum*, supposing it to be an enemy country, went to make a prey. Where *Demopho* ignorant that they were Grecians came to aid & defend his owne; & slew many of the *Argivi*; which they cast out unburied, whose bodies when no beast had toucht *e Lib. octavo pag. 406.* *οὐδ' αὖτε Πόλλυς*, the interpreter, *nullus vivus*. I better think it no creature, either foule or beast) *Acamius* in Oed. Tyr. shewed that they were *Argivi* having the *Palladium*; Being warned then by the Oracle (who named them *Ἀργεῖες*, that is, neither knowing nor knowne) they buried them; and in that Place consecrated the *Palladium*; where they made also a judicatory, for murders unwillingly committed, and called it *\* ἐν Πάλλαδι*, *juxta Palladium*, as some. Here was *Demopho* first tried. who returning from this battayle, killed with his horse, somewhat diverting, an *Athenian*; For whose kindred some think he satisfied the Law, or generally for the *Argivi*. b If any had striken aman or woman, and the party chanced to dye, he was judg'd in this Court. In such cases the Law was very favourable; for the party offending was not punished with perpetuall exile, *ἀειψία*, as in wilfull felony; (kept by us in England. once, called *Abjuratio* where

c Libro octavo pag. 406.

f Schol. Sophocles in Oed. Tyr.

g It is smily called Pal-

adium / Elian Var. l. 5. c. 15.

h τὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον

πᾶν τὸν ἐν Πάλλαδι

g Paulan. Attic. pag. 27.

h Demosth. contra Neerum; pag. 727.

Vide

Demosthe-

pag. 322.





they might know in what Court to sit. For they presently went to that Court which had the same colour with their staffe. Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκῳ. From the statue of *Lycus* on *Hera*, which was there set up, having the face of a wolf; where likewise the statue of *Iuno* stood visaged in the same manner. But we must not omit that the image of *Lycus* was erected in every court; hence ἡ Λύκος δικάς, *Lyci decem*, for sycophants and such as corrupt judgement, because that such persons were very frequent and busy there; And so think I *Pollux* is to be read,

<sup>b</sup> Zenobius.

αὐτοὶ δὲ συνησαν δι' αὐτοδικοῦντες τὰ δικαστήρια (understand πρὸς ἑν ἢ ὅτι or the like) at which they who bribed the Judges met. *Zenobius* helps my conjecture ἐν δὲ δὲ δικαστηρίοις. The <sup>b</sup> Scholiast of *Aristophanes* writes that this noble *Lycus* had a Temple near the Judicatory, where the Judges divided their money for pay; three oboli to each, a day. <sup>c</sup> Μνήμη δικαστήριον. This

was a great Judicatory; so named from *Meichus* an artificer which built it. Here, who had passed thirty years of his age, and was well & Nobly descended & owed nothing to the publique treasury, might be chosen Judge. For of such they all consisted. Ἐν Ἀρδέντῳ. Some have falsely supposed that there was a Tribunal so called: neither did <sup>d</sup> *Meursum*

think otherwise, when he translated these words of <sup>e</sup> *Pollux*, ἐν Ἀρδέντῳ δικαστήριον, apud tribunal *Ardentum*. The fault crept in by the negligence of the transcriber; for the place is thus to be read, ἀμύμον ἐν Ἀρδέντῳ δικαστήρια. The Judicatories were wont to take Oath or be sworn in *Ardentum*. *Ardentus*

is a place near the river *Ilissus*, so named from *Ardentus* a Peere, who swore the people, being in sedition & mutinie, to love and amity. Where afterwards, as is most probable the Judges took oath (I cannot justly say presely after their election) to give sentence according to the Lawes, and concerning things to which no Lawes were enacted, in equity and justice, <sup>f</sup> by *Apollo Patrius*, *Ceres*, and *Jupiter Rex*. And this the Etymologist affirms, speaking of *Ardentus*, <sup>g</sup> Ἐν τῷ

ἐν τῷ ᾧ οὐκ ἀμύμον δι' ἀρδέντας δικαστὰς ἔκρινε. The Judges in this place took their bath touching the discharge of their office. From whence, among the Ancients such as would presently swear, were called <sup>h</sup> *Ardenti*, proverbially; as also those who weare perjurious and forsworne. καὶ ἀρδέντες ἡ Καταβ. Theoph. Char. p. 178. <sup>i</sup> Ety. Mag. loco laudato. Thus have we viewed the Athenian Judicatories, in number: tenne: Kor *Mucher*, *Arcopagus*, *Palladium*, *Delphinium*, *Prytanum*, and *Phreatijs*. For other matters *Heliea*, *Trigonum*, *Parabysium* (not the Medium but *Majus*) *Metichis forum*, & ad *Lycum*, where the *Διακτοὶ* were wont to sit, saies <sup>k</sup> *Possardus* of whom, because <sup>l</sup> *Emmius*, numbers them among *Judicia quatuor precipua*, the four chief Courts, I will now speak. But of every Tribe were chosen forty four men, <sup>m</sup> above threescore yeares old, who judged in severall Tribes, as it fell to them by lot. And if any refused to sit according to his lot he was deprived of the privileges of an *Athenian* Cittizen. <sup>n</sup> In former time there came no controversy into the Courts, which had not first past through their hands; (if it succeeded tenne dracmes, Although <sup>o</sup> *Ulpian* tells us that they determined of petty business) but that seems to be, *Ἄν ἐν ἱερῶν*, holy matters, if <sup>p</sup> *Pollux* be so to be read. For some things there were which came not under their Jurisdiction. What ever the *δικηται* κληρωτοὶ judged, if the plaintiff and defendant, or either of them liked not the award, they might referre it to the Senate (as appears out of the <sup>q</sup> Argument of *Demosth. Orat. q* Pag. 678. contra *Callippum*; & <sup>r</sup> *Pollux*) at which removing of the suit they were to cast their suffrages into a pot as they gave the, on what side soever, for the plaintiff by themselves, and for the defendant by themselves. <sup>s</sup> When they were appointed for the hearing of a case they were to meet at the place for them ordained, there to expect both parties untill the even, at which time if neither or but one was present, it was in their power to fine them according to the Law. At the time they entered the suit, and wrot the accusation, with the fine which

<sup>h</sup> Casaub.

<sup>i</sup> Theoph.

<sup>j</sup> Char. p. 178.

<sup>k</sup> Ety. Mag.

<sup>l</sup> loco laudato.

<sup>m</sup> De Mag.

<sup>n</sup> Athen. p. 540.

<sup>o</sup> Discrip.

<sup>p</sup> Reip. Ath. p.

<sup>q</sup> 41.

<sup>r</sup> Ulpian in

<sup>s</sup> Dem. p. 342.

<sup>t</sup> Pollux l. 8.

<sup>u</sup> P. 407.

<sup>v</sup> Pollux ib.

<sup>w</sup> Demosthe-

<sup>x</sup> nem loco ci-

<sup>y</sup> tato.

<sup>z</sup> Pag. 678.

<sup>aa</sup> Lib. 8. P.

<sup>bb</sup> 407.

<sup>cc</sup> Vide Dem.

<sup>dd</sup> Midian. &c.

<sup>ee</sup> Ulpian in il-

<sup>ff</sup> lum. p. 344.



n Oom. lib.  
8. p. 388.

• In Stelit. 1.

• Sir T. Smith  
Commonw.  
of Engl. l. 2.  
c. 26. p. 281.  
• Loco laud.

r Vlp. in Dem.  
p. 389.  
f Idem p. 407

t Dem. p. 416

for men disfranchised. But *Pollux* teaches us that it is a declaration made to the *Archon* against one taken in the manner, which the *Greekes* terme *ἐπαυτογράφου* o Schol. *Nazianz.* ἐπ' αὐτῷ κλοπῇ, *Pollux* expresses by *ὁμολογῆσαι ἀδικήματα*, when the offence is confessed. Because men so apprehended were forced to condemne themselves; no further evidence required then frō their owne mouthes. By which acknowledgement of their guiltinesse, without greater triall, they received their doome P as among us whē a prisoner arraigned, confesses his indictment to be true, noe twelve men goe upon him: there resteth but the Judges sentence of the paine of death. Whence grew our proverb, Confesse and be Danged *ἡ Pollux* *ὁμολογῆσαι ἀδικήματα*, ἐκρίσται, ἀλλὰ τιμωρίας δομένον. He that thus made his declaration, was to subscribe his name, y<sup>e</sup> if he were false, he might be liable to the writ, *ἡ δὲ δέξαι ἐν δέξαι*. The declaration was against men who were not present. *Ἀπαγωγῇ*, is a carrying of a mā before the Magistrate, being taken in the fact, whō otherwise he was to accuse by declaration in his absence. By which a thousand Drachmes were endangered. In this *Ἀπαγωγῇ*; they brought not all offenders to the same Magistrates, but according as they were made Judges of such and such offences; sometimes to the eleven, sometimes to the *Thesmothetæ*, sometimes to the *Archon*. Now if a mā had found out any indebted to the publique treasury, or bound for those places or countries where it was not permitted for him to goe, or one who had committed murder, if by reason of weaknes he durst not venture to apprehend the person, & *ἀπαγεῖν*, he would perhaps fetch the *Archon* to the house where such a party lay hid, which the *Attick* Lawyers terme *ἀφρηγῆσαι*. *Ἀνδραγαθήσει*, is when a fellow hath committed murder, & flies for succour to any; (as the Law suffered any to receive him) if the kindred of the slaine or others had required the malefactor to be delivered to the & the protector would not, it was lawfull to enter into his house & carry away any three persons, as some translate it.

or.

of all save three *ἀγχι τοῦ*, as others, who were to answer for the outrage done. But who so entred unjustly was not to escape unpunished. *Ἑισαγγελία*, saies \* *Vlpian*, is accusation concerning great and publique matters, such as \* elsewhere he speaks of, to wit, the dissolution of the *Democracie*; or if an Oratour had spoken what was not for the benefit of the weale publique; if any went to wars before they were sent, or betrayed a *Garison*, *Army* or fleet. In other accusations, if the accuser had not the fifth part of the suffrages he was fined a thousand drachmes, & lost the priviledges of a Citizen, in this he was uncontrollable. But in after time, because men would accuse presently for none, or small offences; therefore was there a law enacted, that whosoever accused by *Ἑισαγγελία*, & had not the fifth part of voices on his side, was fined a thousand drachmes, although he lost not the priviledges of a Citizen. This *Ἑισαγγελία* contained no written crimes but was only by bare word of mouth; & as the accusation was given, so was the defence made according to the Law called *Ἑισαγγελτικὴς*. The Senate was Judge, (*Pollux* saies that *Solon* made a thousand to sit on this, and *Phalerus* 1500. Where the interpreter erres. For *πεντακῆδοι* is 500 to them, as *ἡ τι πέντε*, in *Demosthenes*, and somewhat more) and whom they found delinquent, if in small faults, they fined; but if the offence were heinous, they committed him to prison. Thus much for publique actions; private were these that follow, more properly calid *δικαίαι*.

*Αἰκίας* *Δ* is an action against a man, who when two shall scuffle, gives the first blow, which they *Greekes* call *ἀγχι παληῶν ἀδικον*.<sup>2</sup> The matter was heard before the Judges; and though the Law ordained not any set some of money for damages, yet it was permitted for the party smitten to write downe what he thought fitting. The reason why these actions were so strictly looked into, was least any not able to defend himselfe with his hands, should seeke to revenge himselfe with stones or any other hurt full weapon.

\* Idem cont.  
Arist. p. 415.  
\* In Dem. p.  
58.  
\* Eund. p.  
453.

Dem. p. 410.  
vide Vlp. ibid  
& Arg. Orat.  
cont. Everg.  
p. 637.  
2 Sch. Arist.  
Conc. p. 745.  
4 Dem. cont.  
Con. p. 690.



Idem ibid.

ἡ Κακηγορίας ἂν. Some what neerer our proviso of giving the lye, least by taunting & reprochfull words, men be provoked to blowes. Βάβης ἂν. Is when any man receives damage and hurt in estate by another man. As to turne water into his ground, by which it is annoyed, to refuse to pay money where it is required, or to give it to an other. to promise to beare witness in a suit, and then not be present, by which the case falls, & the like. Πεγκαταθήκης δ. About pawnes, I suppose, which men that needed money were wont to leave with the usurers, as clothes houldstuffs, &c. Or about money put to the bank, which exchangers did employ to the advantage of the owners, as I gather out of Demosthenes. The word importes both. Ἀποπομπής δ. Of divorce, for they were wont to put a way their wives, in former time, upon discontent or hope of greater portions; which time they called ἀποπομπή, & as Lysias ἀπομύψιν on the husbands side, and on the wives ἀποβλεψιν; for he did as it were turne her away, she was said to forsake him. Κακώσεως δ. Of ill usage of parents, as not relieving them if they were poore. Of wives against husbands, of Pupils against Tutors. Κλοπής of theft, after what manner soever. Which if it were by day, was not capitall, but by night was deadly. Χρέως δ. Such as our Act of Parliament hath allotted for extortion, it being by Law provided in Athens that none should take too much use, although once allowed by Solon, that any might make the best of his money: which he termes ἐκδοσιμον ἀργύρον. Of usury I shall speake more in Chap. of money. Συμβολαίων δ. When men had bargained and would not stand to it, Aristotle. δίκαια ὥς ἀνδράσι περ συμβολαίων. In Theoph. Σωθίκης πνευματώσεως δ. When men broke the Articles which they made to each other, about deviding of inheritance betweene man & man; or betweene Citty & Citty, concerning free trading, as that of the Carthaginians with the Romans. Arist. Pol. 3. c. 6. or the like. m These σωθήκει were usually confirmed by oath to each other. Διαδικασίας δ. A contention.

c Arg. Orat.  
Dem. contra  
Calliclem.  
d Dem. cont:  
Callip. p:  
680. n. 20.  
e Dem. cont.  
Tim. p. 659.  
n. 25.  
f Sch. Aristo:  
137. E.  
g Cont. Phor:  
p: 555. n. 7. 8.  
h Vide Cujacium. Observ:  
l. 6: c. 15.

i This is reckoned among the Lawes; which were made for private men. Vlp in Dem. p: 481.  
k Vi Casub: in Theoph. p: 191. Char: Πολιτικῆς πνευματώσεως δ. I Polit: l. 2: c. 3  
m Dem: p: 551 n: 13.  
n Ulp in Dem p: 62 & 310.

tion about bearing office, in which they seeke to have a time appointed, when a man shall enter into it. For the discharge, whereof they are to prove him fit. επιδικασίας δ. When parents died & left their daughters inheritrices, the kindred was wont to sue each other to make it appeare who was neerer joyning in blood, that he might marry her. Hence a Virgin to whom an inheritance falls, is called ἐπιδικασ; that is Contro- Pollux l. 3. vers. 8. Μισθώσεως δίκαιον δ. About letting of houses. (For Herodotus termes that ἐκδοθῆναι, which other Greeke writers μισθώσαι, it is as well to set to hire, as to take to rent, ἀμισθῶν & συμμισθῶν, to let out. Which they often did for want of money which that they might obtaine the quicker, they wrote over their dore as we use doe, This House is to be let. which custome Menæmus in P Terence expresses -- Inscrpsi illico, AEDS MERCEDE.) This Writ was properly against Guardians of Orphans (not concerning men of years, such as immediately is before spokē) who having takē the charge upon the of Tuition, were to employ for the benefit of their Pupils what was left them: they therefore made knowne to the Archon that such a house was to be let, he then put it out upō some pledge for security. But if the house were let under the yearly rent it could bring in, or was suffered to remaine void of a Tenant, to the losse of the Pupill, then was it lawfull for any mā to sue the Guardian in the Archon's court Upon a writ of Μισθώσεως δίκαιον. Επιδικασίας. I have observed it to have beene a custome among the Anciens, when they perceived themselves to draw neerer to death, to call for some one to whose care they would commit thier children, & delivering them into their hands, beseech them to have a tender ey over the & to provide for them what should be most convenient: such as Odiplum in q Sophocles entreats of Theseus in the behalfe of his daughters - Ω εἶλον χρεα. Ἄδεις μοι χρεῖς σὺς q Odip: Col: p: 314. πῶς ἄρχαίαν τέκνοισι, ὅτις τε παῖδες τῶδε καὶ χερσίνεσσιν Μήνοσσι πρὸς δόσειν πᾶς δ' ἐκὼν, τελέειν δ' ὅσ' ἄν Μέλαιος φρονῶν δ' ἔξυμψέ- Ter: Andr: 690. τ' αὐτὸς αἰεῖ. Not unlike is that of the Comedian under A. I. Sc. 5: the.

Heut: A. I. Sc. 1: 1.

142 *Archeologie Atticae. Lib. 3. Cap. 4.*  
the person of *Chrysis*, committing *Glycerium* to the Tuition  
of *Pamphylus*.

*Accessi: vos semotæ: nos soli: incipit.*  
*Mi Pamphile, hujus formam atq; ætatem vides:*  
*Nec clam te est, quam illi nunc utraq; inuitiles*  
*Et ad pudicitiam, & ad tutandam rem sient.*  
*Quod ego te hanc per dextram oro, & ingeniam tuam,*  
*Per tuam fidem, perq; hujus solitudinem*  
*Te obsecro, ne abs te hanc segreges, non deferas.*  
*Si te in Germani fratris dilexi loco;*  
*Sive hac te solum semper fecit maximi,*  
*Seu tibi morigera fuit in rebus omnibus.*  
*Te isti virum do, amicum, tutorem, patrem:*  
*Bona nostra hæc tibi committo, & hæc mando fidei.*  
*Hanc mihi IN MANUM DAT, mors continuo ipsam occupat.*

But among the *Athenians* the use was to nominate in their  
Testaments and last wills, whom they would have to be  
Guardians. Which office after they had undertaken, if they  
should defraud the Orphans of their patrimony, or any part  
thereof, they were sued with a Writ *ἐμψυχή*, as *Demosthe-*  
*nes* did sue his as soone as he came to age. But if the matter  
were not questioned within five years after the pupil was  
admitted among the number of men, by the Law the *Guan-*  
*dian* could not be taxed. *Ἀποσποία*, Of a Master against a  
servant ingratfull for his manumission, not doing his duty  
to his Master. Because, as *Demosthenes* witnesses, it was the  
nature of servants once made free, not only to be ingratfull  
but also to hate their Masters most of all men, as those who  
had been conscious to their servitude. It was enacted there-  
fore that whosoever was convicted of ingratitude should a-  
gain be made a bondslave. \* *Valerius Maximus*. Age, quid il-  
lud Institutum Athenarum, quam memorabile? Quod convictus  
à patrono libertus ingratus, jure libertatis exuitur. The Ro-  
mans did not onely acquit them of the liberty of the Citie,  
(which

f Plut. in vita  
eius.

t Demosth. p.  
724. n. 22.

u Pag. 465.

\* Lib. 2. c. 1.  
p. 670.

(which the *Athenians* gave not) but made them also slaves, & *Justin*, In  
wh ich punishment they terme \* *Maximam capitis diminutio-* l. 1. T. 16.  
*nem*. Σίτη. If any man put away his Wife he was to restore  
her portion againe; if he refused he was ἐπ' ἐννε' ὀβολοῖς  
τοκοφορεῖν, that is, every month for one pound: to pay nine o-  
boli, which the *Atticks* terme ἑκατόν πενήκτες, the renew of  
her Dowry. The Writ whereby he was sued was Σίτη δίκη 733.  
for the repayment. 2' *Ενοικία*, If any went to Law, as clay-  
ming title to an house, he was first to serve him that dwelled  
in it with a Writ *ἐνοικία*, by which he demāds his rent for the  
time the defendant had the house: if it were for any parcell  
of land, there was a Writ *κατά* given out, for the provent &  
fruit thereof; afterwards (in both cases alike) they proceed-  
ed to an *ἔσται δίκη*, in which they claimed right & title to  
the house or land. Although in all these trials the defendant  
were cast, yet could he keep justly either house or land: but  
if in a 3<sup>d</sup> triall, which they call *ἔξλησις*, he were overthrown,  
he was compelled to relinquish his possessio. This *ἔξλησις* al-  
so is a Writ against those that would cast an inhabitant out  
of his house, it being termed frō *ἔξλησις*, to throw forth. 3' It  
is also a Writ of Execution against any overthrown in the  
Court, & fined a thousand drachmes, which at such a day he  
was to pay; & if he laid it not downe upon the naile, there  
went forth a Writ *ἔξλησις*, to make enter upon the lands and  
possessions of him so cast. It is also a Right against any who  
will not suffer him, who hath bought any thing of the pub-  
like to reap the fruit thereof. Who either withholds any  
thing frō the owner, or violently takes from any, &c. *Εἰς*  
*δωμὸν ἀρεσίου*, when two had bin partners in estates, & one of  
them would have a dividence made, if the other refused, he  
might be restrained to it by the Writ. *Βεβαιώσις*, Because the  
Market place among the Greeks was the fittest to cheat &  
cofen in, as *b Anacharsis* was wont to say, therefore the *Athe-* b Apud Laerj;  
*nians* enacted that none should buy in the market place; (to p. 74.  
which the *Scythian* wife man poynted likewise, saying, that  
they

Demost. p.  
733.  
2 Dem. pag.  
655. n. 58.

vlp. in demi  
p. 340.

c Pollux 1.8.  
c. 6. p. 385.

d In Aufon.  
Lect. 1.2. c. 6.  
e In Theoph.  
Char. p. 312.  
f Adversario-  
rum 1.4. c. 13.  
g Don. Quod  
prius datur,  
ut reliquum  
reddatur. in  
Ter. Heaut.  
Act. 3. Sc. 3.  
h Vide Dasiq.  
i In Basil. Sel.  
j Sermone 42  
k Onomast. 1.  
8. c. 6. p. 384.  
l Demost. p.  
718. n. 29.  
m Pand. Pri-  
o. p. 100.  
n Dem. p. 620.  
n. 78.  
Here follow-  
eth the termes  
promiscuous,  
private and  
publique,  
which are pub-  
lique and law-  
full for any to  
prosecute: see  
Pollux, pag.  
386.

they forbad to speake false, & yet did εν χρηματικῇ. ἰδὲ δε-  
(3.) if any man had bargained for any thing, & another sued  
and doubted of the right of it, he might require the seller  
to confirme the lawfulness of the thing sold, and maintain  
it against all controversy, otherwise the seller was liable to  
Βεβαίωσις Νίκη. For although in Athens they bought for the  
most part Græcā fide with redy mony; as d Scadiger & c Ca-  
saubon truly interpret it, f Turnebus, Representat pecuniā: yet  
sometime gave they **Carnest** only to make the thing sure,  
which the Greekes and Latins call εἰρησθόν, from the h He-  
brew ער. This seemes to me to have been the hundredth part  
of mony which was to be paid for the thing bought, as  
i Stobæus out of Theophrastus. Where you may read likewise  
that it was the custome, when any thing was to be sold, to  
bring a note thereof to the Magistrate some threescore daies  
before. εἰς ἑμφανὸν κατέστησιν, For the laying open of any  
thing, concerning which was a suit in law, by k Pollux his  
words I may conjecture, goods or mony privily taken away  
When any should offer to take another mans  
servant and make him free against the will of the Master,  
which the Greekes terme l μὴ δικαίως ἐλάττειν ἀφελέδω.  
μυρίσθῃσις is a suit about neerenesse of blood, in matter of  
inheritance, when a mā dies without issue of his owne body.  
When a man went to prove that he was to  
challenge the inheritance of right, as neere of blood; or upō  
some other conditions: from πρὸς κατὰ βεβαίαν; because he laid  
downe the tenth part of the inheritance, which if he were  
cast in Law, he was to pay, if the cause were private, saies  
m Budewi: but if publique, the fift. n Διαμεινέτω. When  
any shall protest that an inheritance doth hang in contro-  
versie, & is ἐπιδικῶ, as a true heire being still alive, of which  
thing chiefly treats the Oration of Demosthenes against Leo-  
chares. ἐπισκηφίς When any shall try to falsifie the Διαμει-  
νέτω. Αντιγερσί. When men went to Law about kindred,  
as to prove themselves of such and such houses.

ΑΤΕΚΣΙΝ.

Ἀποσώδωσι. All strangers in Athens were compelled by  
the Law to get them Patrons (as my most worthy Schoole-  
master the glory of his time (o) Mr Mathew Buss hath obser-  
ved, whom for honours sake I name) or else they might be  
questioned, and if they were convicted their goods were sold  
and put into the Citty Treasury. Ἀχαιείας of ingratitude a-  
gainst those who shewed not themselves thankfull to those  
who had well deserved of them. Επείας the same with  
ἀποσώδωσι, when any will reckon himselfe among the num-  
ber of Cittizens who had never been made free, by which  
he purchased imprisonment untill such times as there was a  
Court kept, and then he was sold. Μαρτυρία when a man  
is eye witnesse of a matter. Εὐκλιπυρία, When another  
witnesses from the report of him that saw it. Ψευδομειν-  
έτω falsewitness, which to prosecute in Law they terme  
ἐπικλήσας ψευδομαρτύριον. Λειτουργία, when one was eye-  
witness & promised to testify, yet would not appear at the  
appointed time; which they were wont to compell them to  
doe, which they call κληπύριον, after which citation the par-  
ty was to be at court, or forswear that he saw not the mat-  
ter, or was not present; otherwise he was to pay a thousand  
Drachmes, in which summe to be fined the Atticke Lawyers  
give the appellation ἐκκληπύριον. Δόρων γερσί, When the  
Judges were corrupted with bribes. Δικασίς against those  
that did corrupt them. Ἀργίας of a man convicted of idle-  
nesse, which once taken Draco punished the elinquent with  
losse of the Citty priviledges, Solon not unlesse he were  
thrice delinquent. Αἰσχροναυτία, When any of the mariners  
ran away from their ships. Ανανυμχίον, When the Mar-  
iners that staid in the ships would not fight, if occasion re-  
quired. Ψευδογερσίς when any would falsly accuse, there  
was likewise against them a writ ἐπιβουλεύσις. Ψευδο-  
κληπία Against those that unjustly cite to the Court. Δύε-  
ξεντίας when any is accused of encroaching into the number  
of Cittizens, and gives gifts to escape free. Παρορμίων when

o in Epist.  
Dedic. suo  
Euchaitensi  
præfixa ad  
Richar. Can-  
tuaricensem  
Archiepisco-  
pum.

T

any

any was accused of making a decree or Law contrary to former statutes. This accusatio was called *ῥαυματία*; because the accuser swore that it was against the Lawes, or unjust, or inconvenient for the Common wealth. *ῥαυματία*, was an examination of the Magistrates whether they were fit to govern, or no. Whether the Orators were not given to Lust, and incontineny, whether they had not spent their patrimonies, or dealt unkindly with their parents, or lead a life any other waies blameable, whereupon they were discarded the privileges of the City, and not suffered to plead, or speake publikely. *Εὐδοκία*, An account of publique offices borne, laying out of mony, and dispatching Ambassages, made to the Tenne *Logistæ* (for the breach of which went out a Writ *ἀλογίᾳ λόγον δίδόναι*, Rationem reddere), if concerning injuries given to the judges. *Περίβολοι*, an accusation against those who are ill affected toward the Commonwealth, made by the decree of the people, and such as are wellwillers to the state. *Περίβολοι* likewise are accusations against men injurious, *ἐξυβρίζοντες*, & such as are delinquent against their festivalls, as the oration of *Demophilenes* against *Midias*. *Περυσία*, An oath which the accuser tooke that he would justly accuse. (q) *Ἀπομυσία*, The defendants oath that he had done no wrong. *Ἐξωμυσία*, an oath of Ambassadors, or men chosen for state service, that by reason of sickness they cannot give attendance. They may do it by a proxie, if they please. It is likewise the oath of one called to witness, wherein he swears that he knowes nothing of the businesse. *Ἀπομυσία*, When others shall swear that pretended weaknesse was only a shift to put of the burthen of publique office which the state laid on them. *Υπαμυσία*, an accusation of a Law or decree unprofitable, against the motioner, as above said. *Παραγρηγορία*, & *παρελθρηγορία*, when a man shall object a case not to be entred rightly that the writ ought to be such, & such, and not as it is. *ex. gr.* for a man that runnes away from the Army, which is *ἀπὸ στρατῶν*, and I accuse him of

a Lib. Arg. in  
Midianam.

q Vlpian in  
Dem. 226.

of leaving his ranck, to wit *ἀπὸ στρατῶν*, or objection of the time past within which space the suit was to be commenced, or that it should be handled in such a Court, and not in such; as wilfull murder in *Areopagus*, not *Palladium*: by which evasion if the case fell, it was termed *ἀγρονομία*. *Ἀπρηγορία*, when he that is sued puts in a bill against the plaintiff in like manner. But if the defendant (I call *ἀπρηγορία* *ῥαυματία* so) were cast, he payed *ἀποβελίαν*. *ῥαυματία*, when a man is summoned to answer before the Arbitri a controversy, if he swear that he is sick, or pretends a journey from home, and appears not at the day appointed, he was cast in *ἔρεμνῃ*, *Eremodicio*, as if he scorned to come, or were obstinate, he ought within tenne daies to sue out *ῥαυματία*, wherein he reproved the sentence, and made it of no effect, so as it came to its first state againe. But if he could not obtaine a *ῥαυματία*, having before sworn that he would stand to the award of the Judges, their determination stood in full strength and power, & he was constrained to pay a thousand drachmes (as (f) *ῥαυματία*) which was the mulct appointed by the law: for the discharge whereof he put in good security. *Ἀνταγχαίνεν δίκην*, When any was absent from the Court, or heard not his name called by the Crier to answer thereunto, he was fined, as conscious of *Eremodicium*, and if within the space of two Moneths he did not renew the suit (which is *ἀνταγχαίνεν δίκην*) he was sure to pay the fine. *Ἐντοσίφασιν*, when any man will challenge out of goods forfeited, & publicly sold, somewhat as debt to him, or say that part belongs to him, the state would narrowly search into it, which thing they terme *ἐντοσίφασιν*. *Πρόσκλησις*, is a citing of one before the *Archon* in controversy about inheritance, or a Virgin left inheretrix. Now if the plaintiff did not warne the defendant *ἔντοσίφασιν*, the suit died, and such actions are called *ἀντοσίφασιν δίκην*. (t) *ῥαυματία*, is as letting a case fall, or dissolving it upon some witness, oath, confession extorted by torments, and the like. *Ἐρεσις*, is an appeal from one court to

(In Dem. p.  
340.)

Dem p. 623

the other, as from the Senate to the people, and from the people to the Senate againe, or from their Judicatories at home to some forrainers in another country. *Ἀπὸ τῆς δίκης* when there is no more fine laid upon a man then what his adversary did *ἀντιπρὸς αὐτῷ*, write downe at the lower end of his inditement: of which custome somewhat hath before been spoken. *Βολίται δίκην*, Against such as stole Oxe dung out of their neighbours lands; whence of those that are put in the court for triviall matters the proverb *(u)* *Βολίται δίκην Ἀστὸς* of impiety against their gods, as Aristotle for his hymn on *Hermias*, Tyrant of the *Acharnenses*, which he engraved on a statue at *Delphos*. For revealing mysteries, or imitating them as *Alcibiades*. Of which if a man were convicted he was put to death; as on the contrary the accuser if he got not the better, *ὑπερδίκας*, of being false to the state, the punishment was death, and after that, that they should be cast out of the Territories of *Athens* unburied. \* *Ἀγροφίς*, If any owed to the Citty Treasury, and his name were registred, and before the discharge of the mony his name were blotted out, they sued him before the *Thesmotheta ἀγροφίς*, but if his name were never entred, he vvas prosecuted by an *ἐρ. δίκης*. *Μεταλλικὴ* proper only to such as dealt in the Mines, like to the Stanneries in the County of *Cornwall* my Country, and *Devon-shire* her sister. (x) Lyable to this Court were they vvho should thrust any man from his vvork, who should dig vvithin another mā's liberties, vvho should bring vveapons thither, I suppose to take avay Mineralls by violence, vvho should kindle any fire in the Mines &c. Who should offer to take avay the props that upheld the vveight of the incumbent earth, vvhich to doe vvas death, as (y) *Plutarch* tells us. There vvas likewise *ἀγροφίς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀντιπρὸς αὐτῷ* against the labourers in the Mines, who if they intēded to begin a new vvork were to acquaint the overseers appointed for that end by the people, that the foure and twentieth part of the new coine might come to the publike Treasury. Now if any presumed

u Aristoph.  
Sch. p. 3. 28.  
Laetius in  
vina.

\* Dem. cont.  
Theocr. pag.  
7. 13. n. 76.  
77.

x Dem. com.  
Pant. p.  
367. n. 51. 52.

y In vitis De-  
cem. Rhet. p.  
453.

med to vvork vvho had not made it known to the officers it was lawfull for any to accuse him *ἀγροφίς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀντιπρὸς αὐτῷ*. About mony put out to the mony changers. (z) For *ἀγορμή* among the *Atticks* is the same that *ἐν δίκῃ* in the Lawyers of latter time, in *Jure Græco, Rom.* Sometimes indeed they used *ἀγορμή* for meanes, and sustenance (a) *προβολὴ εἰς τὸ ζῆν*. Κα- (b) *κατάδικος* & *καταδικασάμενος* have this difference, that (b) *κατάδικος* is the Judge that gives sentence, *καταδικασάμενος* is he that put in the controversy, to be the meanes that the sentence past against the defendant. (c) *Ἀρεσις* is when a man deeply indebted pretends that he is not able to discharge all and therefore desires the people that a part thereof might be remitted.

z Argum.  
Phorm. Orat.  
p. 554.  
a Sch. Eurip.  
b Med. p. 368.  
c Vlpian in  
Med. p. 368.  
d Idem in  
Dem. p. 450.

LIB.





## LIBER QUARTUS.

De Ritibus Nuptialibus, &amp; Amatoriis.

## CAP. I.

De Venere, &amp; Cupidine.

**T**HE People of *Athens*, had their habitation too neare the Sea, to keep their affections farre from her that rose of the Foame. For that they were devoted to the service of *Venus*, the two Temples wherein she was courted, and the over favourable name of *εὐεργετία* will sufficiently testify. One of those Temples was for *Venus* <sup>a</sup> *Ουρανία* (<sup>a</sup> *si diis placet*) a name better becoming one of the Muses, <sup>b</sup> or the play with the ball, then her and the other, for *Venus Παρθένος*. Which two names put me in mind of an excellent saying in *Achilles Tatius* concerning *Κάλλη* & *εὐεργετία*, & *Κάλλη* & *παρθένος*. Δύο γὰρ ἐστὶ νομίζω καὶ ἀνθρώπων: καλλὴ πλανήτης, τὸ μὲν εὐεργετία, τὸ δὲ παρθένος, ὁπότε τὴν καλλὴν αἱ χερσὶν οἱ θεοὶ. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν εὐεργετία ἐστὶν ἡ δὴ ἐν τῇ καλλὴ δαδύειν, καὶ ἐν τῇ εὐεργετία ταχὺ εὐεργετία. Τὸ δὲ παρθένος ἐστὶν ἡ καὶ ἐν τῇ καλλὴν οἱ θεοὶ σὺναισι. A saying good enough for a Christian, and a Bishop, such as *Snidas* reporteth him to have been. But, a diverticulo. The Sacrifices of the first Temple, were *Ἀγρότερος*, with a little more state, and chastity then became her; but those

those of the last, *παθηγόνος*, as easy, and as wicked as herselfe: For every farthing-strumpet, might by *Solon's* own appointment prostitute her body in the very Temple, as well as in the *Κεραϊκός*, or the *Σαῖροι*, (those *Καπυλαῖα* <sup>a</sup> *Ἀγρο-ε* *Παυσανίας*, *δία*) or any other or the places abused to lust. Nay those *sinks* <sup>a</sup> besides places for the purpose, they had garments also for the purpose, and flowers on the Garments too, *Ἰὰ* <sup>d</sup> *Ἀν-ε* *Κλοαῖα*. *Ἰὰ*, *stordidas vestes*, apparell fit for such *stora's* as wore them. The Rites of her service the *Athenians* are said to have received from the *Phenicians*, the *Phenicians* frō the *Cyprians*, the *Cyprians* from the *Assyrians*. *Fides penes Authorem* (*e*) *ιστ*. <sup>e</sup> *Col. Rhod.* The fashion of her Picture they had from the *Cyprians*. (*viz.*) with a head, and all like a man as farre downe as the girdle, and all the rest like a woman: (to shew she had a place in the *Ditches* (*f*) too as well as in the *Sinks*, and *patroniz'd* lust to either of the Sexes.) Insomuch, that many have been scrupulous whether they should call her *Deum*, <sup>f</sup> *Inter Secratios notissima* <sup>g</sup> *fossicinas*, or *Deam*: for there is one that saies

----- *Pollentemq̃ Deum venerem*. Which *Macrobius* himselfe commends for the best, and therefore in *Virgill*. *Æn. 2. v. 632.* reads

*Discedo, & ducente Deo flammam inter & hostes Expedior* — and not *Dea*, and so *Aristophanes* calls her *Ἀρρόδιον*, in the masculine gender. But, now this makes more worke, & therefore (to plaister two walls with one pot full of plastring) they made it a custome, *ei sacrificiū* <sup>a</sup> *facere viros cū veste muliebri*, *Mulieres cū virili*. *Quod eadē & Mas, & Philochorus*, *Fœmina estimaretur*, for the men to Sacrifice to her in womens cited by *Macrobius* *apparell & women in mens*. If it be so you may say *Aphroditiū* for *Hermaphroditus*, if you please. I read of no such thing concerning *Minerva*: only the (*g*) Poet (because she <sup>g</sup> *Aristophanes* was such a *Virago*) honours the *Man-hood* of the Goddess. *Αἰ. 5. sc. 1.* with *αὐτῆς*, as *Theocritus* (*h*) does *Hecate*. With *ἡ* *καρμάν-αι*, an appellative of the masculine gender: Nor is it enough, <sup>h</sup> *sc. 5.* that the Mother is thus religiously woo'd, and adored: but the

<sup>a</sup> *Pausanias*.<sup>b</sup> *εὐεργετία*, a play so called.

the blind pauntry Boy will be crying for a Temple too. And if Her due be a Cow, certainly His cannot be lesse then a Calfe, neither was it.

Πέλο πορνὴ ἔσται ἡ αὐτῆς Βαυ Ἀφροδίτης.  
saies Theocritus and Amorī Litari, to sacrifice to Amor or Cupid is common in Apuleius. Me thinks he might have been content to sit still in his Mothers Temple, (where hee was lovely Pourtraict with Zeuxes and crown'd with flowers) and have soard with his wings no higher. But the Temples of ἼEgus and Ἀφροδίτης in the way to the Academy, and the famous title of Ἰππὸς Θ, doe more then whisper, what cause he had to be so proud, and how amorous this People has been.

## CAP. II.

## De Paderastiā.

TO omit the Τελεῖδαι, and the Abomination of the Women one vvith another changing τὴν φύσιν ἡ καὶ φύσιν, τὴν φύσιν, the naturall use into that which is against nature, give me leave to speak a little of their Παιδεύσεις, or παιδευσεις, and the Ἀρχαῖαι, or ἀρχαῖαι, practised by the Men upon their οὐν Sexes. The first that ever taught

## In teneros transferre mores.

(if vve may believe Ovid) vvas Orpheus, how good a Scholer of his the Roman was, Lippis & Tonsoribus votum. And for the Greeks, tis reported by Herodotus, that the Persians deriv'd the infection from them; vvhich I am apt enough to believe, vvhen I read those vvords of Cornelius Nepos, Laudi in Grecia ducitur adolescentuli, quam plurimos habere Amatores, in one place, & those concerning Alcibiades in another Ineunte adolescentiā amatus est à multis more, Græcorum, not to tell you how he himselfe aftervvard vvas more then Pæthicus in that double-Cappa-rongery as vvell as Pausanias or nSocrates, or any of his Wag-rail, Sectaries. The Creutians (vvhat ever Strabo commends of that government) if Aristof say true, made a lavv for a toleration of it. The oMegarenses had

had their Kissing-matches, when he that could kisse sweetest was led away in pompe Corollis onustus, only thus much is said in commendation of the Lacedæmonians, & the Athenians, that they confined the Lust to the person of a slave. Nay<sup>p L. 3. Var. Hist. 6. 12.</sup> Ἀλιαν (who makes bold to vary from other authors in severall relations) goes farther, and saies, Σπαρτιάται δὲ ἔργος Ἀισχροῦ οὐ εἶδον. but how true that is, I know not, I am sure their τὰ παιδικὰ and οἱ παιδικοὶ ὕμνοι tell in plain song what they loved: though I confesse, I have found no such feats among them, as that of q Achilles in Murthuring Troilus for refusing to submit to his lust. One word more and I have done. He that was inspired with such a love as this, (as if they had used the trick of Pyramus r and Thisbe) among the Lacedæmonians had the name of εἰσπνιῶ, or εἰσπνιῶς, or rather εἰσπνιῶς as Calimachus hath it.

Μέμβλατι δ' εἰσπνιῶς ὁππότε κῆρυξ ἴοι.

By which word (saith the Etymologicall Dictionary) is denoted, εἰς τὸ τῷ ἑρῶτος, (or rather ἑρῶτης) εἰσπνιῶν. One inspired, shall I say, or belov'd, for so signifieth the word at Sparta (viz.) to love a boy to perdit as to blow in his lower end, (as we say) or spit in his mouth, or give him Mansum ex ore, take the Authors own words for't in the place above quoted. Ἄντι γὰρ διότι ἡ εἰσπνιῶν εἰσπνιῶν αὐτῶν. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ εἰν ἡρώτη, ἑρῶν δὲ ἡ ἑρώτη, and so Hefychius saies of εἰσπνιῶν too. ἰμνῶ μὲ, ἑρῶ μὲ, πᾶσι μ. This was all (as he saies) or (as I say) it should have beene all: for a man may love his house well enough, though he doe not ride upon the ridge. However, I must confesse they had so much care still of the Common-wealsh, notwithstanding their private pleasures, as not to give a voyce to one whom they knew to be guilty of so Much Mollities, as to scratch his head with one finger. Insomuch that if a man had sued for an Office, to give a testimony of his virtue, and Manlike disposition, he was faine to lift up his Armes, and shew his haire in his Arme-pits.

—Xεστηνῆτιον.

V

ἱερωμ-

\* Alatus.

i Epist. Rom. c.  
1. v. 26.  
k Ibid. v. 27.

l Initio lib. de  
Excell. Imp.  
m Æmil. Prob.  
\* Plato in Symp.  
n Socratici  
vivunt.  
o Atheniens.

Ἐξομῶνται τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βραχίονα. *saies Arisrophanes.*  
And good reason for this practice, for,

*Dura per brachia seta*

*Promittunt atrocem animum* — *saies Persius.*

(f) *Apud Aristoph.* And therefore the Woman (f) that desired to be taken for a Man, thought this the best Argument she could use

— Πρώτον μὲν γὰρ ἔχω τὰς μαχάρας

*Λογμῶς διακρινέας.*

Whereas on the contrary, those that had the fore-head to seem, as they were, effeminate, used the same tricks, which the Romans are said to have used for which service they had their *δρακονισαί*, or *alipilarios* to pull away their haire, and be as smooth as they could.

But I have said too much of so odious a Love, as should not indeed be named among us. I will now proceed to speak of a chaster *Venus* (notwithstanding that *Menelaus* in (h) *Achilles* preferred the former) *Qua primis rerum exordia sexuum* *diversitatem generato amore sociavit*, as (u) *Apuleius* said in his Prayer.

### CAP. III.

#### De Amore Mulierum.

**W**hen they first lifted themselves into the service (for, *Militat omnis amans*, and *Cupid* is painted like a Souldier) some of them made it such a solemn business, as to be formerly initiated, like so many Priests,

*Ἀρ δὲ ἡμεῖς Ἀρεσθῆν μυστηριαῖα*, *saies Aristophan.* to his mistress, alluding (it may be) to such Books as the old fellow brought forth to *Apuleius* *Litteris ignorabilibus*, *pro notatos.*

Well it seemes *Venus* had her own too, as well as *Ceres*, for her Priests, though they were not under an enjoyned silence, as the others were: yet the greatest part of their tattling was under the Rose.

*Conscius*

*Conscius omnis abest Nunc signis*, *loquuntur.* And therefore *Cupid* had not the name of a *Whisperer* *ἡσυχῆ* for no-  
thing, seeing speaking through the teeth, and *whispering* throo-  
row the walls (like *Pyramus* b and *Thisbe*) was so commonly

used by his followers. Such as that *ἑσπέρου* *ἑὸν* in *Enripides*, *(b) Ovid Met.* *succrosilla uocula. Faminina fabulare* *succrosilla uocula*, *saies* *(c) Titinius.* *one. πνευματοῦν* τὸ πνεῦμα χαίροις ὑπὲρ ἐλπίδων, *d* *saies* another, *(d) Eustath.* *off/scene.* And not only their words, but every thing they did, was by stealth, for what are all their pleasures but *furtive*? What is *Cupid* (e) but a *Thiefe*. No wonder then if lovers used to worship the Moon: and the Night be the blind boyes holy-day. *(f) Κλαστικὸν δὲ δὲ Νύξ*, *saies* one (like that of the Scholiast upon *Theocritus* *δεῖ δὲ κατ' ἑορταῖς ἐρεσσι* *Κρυψῆς*, *Id. 20.* *νυκτὸς*) for the greatest part of their employments were not able to looke upon the Sunne. Yet *Pindar* (as I take it) *saies* the custome was, for the man to worship the Sunne, and the Woman the Moon. It may be the Man's ayme (g) was to have the Sun's help in bringing Adulteries, and the Womans the Moons, in bringing her (h) children to light.

Besides these, *Θαδὲ δὲ Πάν ἑορταῖς* (i) *Pan* had his worship too. But for any thing I can perceive (though some of them it may be, were of *Theocritus* his mind,

— *Ὅ δὲ Θαδὲ διδὼ δικάζειν*) whatsoever they pretended to the Band of Religion, they tooke the liberty and looseness in such businesses to *swear* and *forswear*, as fast as they listed, whiles *Jupiter* stood by and laught — *Perjuria ridet amaniam*, inso much that *Ἀρεσθῆς* *ἔρη*, a *Love oath*, became but a proverb at last, as being accounted *ἐν ἐμολογίῳ*, not deserving punishment, if it were taken: nay if *Plato* (in *Ephelo*) say truth, *Ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέροις δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἀρεσθῆα*, *ἡ δὲ ἐμπορεῖν* *συγχαίω* *οὐκ ἔστι* *θεῶν*, the Gods gave them leave: as having done *hac eadem* *Juvenes*, the same themselves once: and none can play the (k) *kyavo* better then an *Abbot* that hath been a *Monk*.

(k) French proverb.





## CAP. V.

De Philiris &amp; incantamentis amatoris.

**B**UT what if shee could not be wonne over by faire means? was there then never an arrow left in the Quiver to wound her with? or a juggling trick to bewich her? Yes, but first they must get something or other of her's into their possession, and worke upon that, according to the nurses' advice to *Phædra* in wooing of *Hippolitus*.

Euripides Hipp.  
v. 512.

Αἴ ῥ' ἔστιν ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον  
ἔκλειπται, ἢ δόξαν πρὶν ἢ πῶτον  
ἔκλειπται (Cupid's first  
in love's hand)

And if they could come to the sight of her, your *illices oculi* (in *Apuleius*) there's nothing like is for a fascination. ἑρμηνεύων πρὸς βέλανρον ἀνεσώσασατο, he threw a *sheepes eye* at her (saith \* *Heliodorus*) The proverb, that *Love comes in at the Window and goes out at the Dore*, may not absurdly be understood of the eyes, which *Maximus Tyrius* calls *ὄφθαλμοι* & *θύραι*, the Doores of the Soul which seem to be the way & the passage by which the two loves goe in & out. ὁφθαλμοὶ δ' ὁδὸς εἴναι, saith *Musæus*: or if you will, the eyes of either party are a Torchlighted by the others, to kindle the fire in the heart. ὁφθαλμοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς εἴναι, saith \* *Eustathius*, and so † *Lucian* make the *fight* the first step \* in *Cupid's ladder of love*: To trie therefore what this *Card* could doe, they would goe to the house where she liv'd, and the fashion being for the Daughter *δινοχεῖν* to fil drink to the stranger: (as *Sophenes* commanded his Daughter to doe to *Ismenias*) alter the old folke had drunke, when it came to their Mistresses to drink to them, they observed at what part of the cup she dranke, to be sure to drinke at the same, according to that of the \* Poet

\* Ovid de Arte Am. lib. 1.  
Fac primus rapias illius tacta labellis  
Pocula; quâq; bibit parte Puella, bibe.

Forsooth

forsooth they thought thus to have a kisse mediare at the second hand wasted over in the cup *ἐκ τῆς φιλίας*, *Arifstantus* calls it, not to kisse the cup, but to cup the kisse.

Nam transmissa tuis ad me fert suavia labris  
Ille Calix.

Saith *Scaliger* translating that verse

Πορδαυὶ δὲ ἐμοὶ γυμνῇ φέρεται τὸ φιλίημα. Such a kisse they used to call ἀποπαινωτὸν φιλίημα. (missivum osculum, or a Kisse conveyed in a cup, like words in a Letter) as both *Achilles* and *Eustathius* doe. And by this time they have seen whether they can doe any thing or nothing by the eye. Next they will trie what they can doe with the Tongue, by *enchanting songs and tales*: or by the Hand with gifts and *Philites*. ἐκ ἀπὸ πονηρῶν φιλίμων τε καὶ ἐπαυδῶν, καὶ ἰσχυρῶν, saies *Xenophon*. Ὡς more especially is the name of a Bird, (whether it be *torquilla* or *regulus*, or *passerculus*: the last is most likely because of its *alacritie*) whose tongue they made use of to such purposes, putting it under the knap of her ring, with the paring of her nailes.

And we can thank no body but *Juno* for such a naughty Bird, for having been formerly a Woman, and the Daughter of *Pan* and *Pitho* (of *Eecho* saies *Callimachus*): because she bewitched *Jupiter* to the loving of *Io*, *Juno* turned her into a Bird of the same name, and of a making very suitable to her former condition, and the uses for which she serves. For (according to the *Scholias*t upon *Lycophron*) it is a Bird with a long neck and tongue, continually wagging both the head and the tail: and punished she is enough for her roguery, for (besides that way I told you of before) sometimes they ty'd her *ἐκ τῆς τροχῆς* to a wheele (as I thinke) and chanted a charme as they whirled it round, sometimes (at least the ancients) to a *τροχῆ* of wax, causing both together to consume in the fire. But what will you say, if all this while it be nothing but an instrument pleasantly tun'd and playd? as some say it is, and that it is therefore commonly used.



*Me tibi venturam comitem sponsamq. futuram.*

And so made her think she *rooke*, when she did but read the oath. And thus \* *Hippomanes* threw Back *Atalanta*, by throwing of his Apples. Nay, if they bit off a peece, and threw it; it was enough, which made (k) *Phileas*, being jealous of her sister *Thelxinoe* complaine of *Pamphilus* his throwing a peece of Apple in her lap. The (l) Women of *Thessalie* are especially noted for cunning Women at this worke, being able (as he saies) *μαγδιον εως, ωτε μη πως ετερον ετι τον αυθρυσον αποκαλυψουσι*, &c. And so are the Women of *Egypt* (I think the sexe hath still had the Monopolie of Magick (however the *Egyptian* (m) Souldier came to mistake in the *Dofis*, when he gave *Lucippe* the Potion. For instead of putting her into a fit of love, he put her cleane out of her wits, as *Casonia* did her Husband *Galigula* with an *Hippomanes*. Those *επιτρα*, or Love-potions, were commonly made of the juyce of such herbes, as disposed the body to Venerie, such as the *σαουλιον* (rendered *Pastinaca*) call'd by way of excellency *το φιλωρ*, *επι δευρατικον εις τα κατ' Αρεσθιν*, saies *Eustathius*. *Plutarch* (if I mistake not) in his *παρρησιας περυσια*, expresses his dislike of these courses. But what? was there never a way to *unwisch* the party againe? (for I have heard of some that can do this, who cannot do the tother) yes, either by taking counter-physick, (as *Lencippe* did:) or by washing it away in the River *Selemnus*, as (*Pausanias* saies) they used to do in *Achaia*: or else by Sacrifices or charmes, according as they imagined the cause. Whence those words of the \* *Nurse* to *Myrrha* incited by the Furies, and not by *Cupid*, to the wanton love of her own Father.

*Sed Furores est, habeo quod Carmine sanet, & herbis:  
Sive aliquis nocuit, Magico Instrabere ritu:  
Ira Deum sive est, sacris placabimus iram.*

CAP

## CAP. VI.

*De Ustrato more significandi amorem.*

IF the Love came of its own accord, and were kindled with a naturall heat (as indeed the soule is naturally inclined \* *ωπαρεσ αιθ' ανεως, η διασφαιδω, η μνησιν διειν, ετω η φιλοη* to the love of another) you will not think what a tender care those *Gracian* Women had of their Sweet-hearts. In so much, that if you call to minde some of their choyslest expressions thereof (especially that of *Ariadne* to *Theseus*) you cannot but be of \* *Plutarch's* mind, in approving the definition given by some of the old Philosophers, who said that it is, *ετων καρπια ως δημελειαν η σωτειαν νουν*. Not to tell you that sometimes they sent a wooing to the men, pray take but a tast of their customes in this particular of expressing their love. To trimme up their bodies as they did their owne <sup>a</sup> with flowers (like a *May-maid*) or hang up Garlands at their doores (or *τα εσωτα* the parts of the house <sup>a</sup> *Eustath. 1sm.* exposed to sight when the doores were open, *αδεκδομεν εινε κα η περιοντων* saies *Hesychius*) was an ordinary careffe, though indeed (as <sup>b</sup> *Athenians* saies) they intend it chiefly to the honour of *Eros*. *Τε ε εδ' ερωτ' ερωτων εγυλια, τετα ε ναν οντα τω δικησιν σερανθω*, as making the body of a sweet-heart the Image, and his house, the Temple of Love. The tokens they usually sent were Garlands and Roses, *τα σεφανια και η στα ροδο πιμπει* (saies *Petalas* to *Simaloon* in *Alciphron*) and (it may be) sometimes bitten pieces of Apples *μηλα αποδεσχυμενα* (as *Lucian* calls them) tokens very well agreeing with those expressions in fashion among the Romans when they sate at table, *viz.* leaving drink in the cup, and giving morsells of meat, such as <sup>c</sup> *Martiall* would have *Pontia* send him, rather than a whole legge, or the like, or such as <sup>d</sup> *Ovid* speaks of,

*Si tibi forte dabit, quos pragnstaveris ipse,*

X 2

Rejice

\* *Ovid Met.*  
l. 10. fab. 11.

k *Aristan lib.*  
1 op. 25  
l *Achil. Tat. l. 5.*  
*Thessala* vendit *Philtra*.  
*Juvenal.*

m *Corgias a-*  
pud *Tat. l. 4.*  
u *Suetonius.*

\* *Ovid. Met. l.*  
10. fab. 9.

\* *Plut. in So-*  
*lou.*

\* *In vita Thef.*

<sup>b</sup> L. 15.

<sup>c</sup> L. 6. Ep. 7.

<sup>d</sup> *Amor. l. 1.*  
El. 4.

Rejice libatos illius ore cibos.

(e) De vita  
Cleric. ad  
Nepotian.

But I must tell you S. Hieroms (e) censure, *de gustatos cibos, blandosq; ac dulces literulas sanctus amor non habet*, it ought not to be so amongst you. Symmachius upon those words of the birds in Aristophanes, — — — καὶ τοῖσιν ἑσπιν σονεσσαι, saies they were wont to gratify one another with Birds, such as doves, and the οἶσιν, and the like. But these expressions I weigh but little, when I observe that scarce a Wall or a Tree, where ever it were (καὶ πῶς) saith the Scholiast) was passed by without writing thereon the name of the party, in this forme ὁ δῶνα καλῶς, or κῆνος καλῶς, for the word κῆνος among the Grecians signified *amatum*. a Womans word, like τῆνος in Theocritus,

f Diog. Laer.  
in Diadoco.

ἵνα γὰρ ἔακε τὸ πῆρον ἐν δὲ ποτὶ δῶνα τὸν ἀνδρῶνα.

Insteed Whereof (say some) you shall read κῆμος in the Comedian in Vespiis. but I see no such need of a correction, for he speaks of the Lawyer that was so much in love with the employments of the Court, that the κῆμος<sup>a</sup> (the cover of the pot for the calculi) or one such thing or other ranne still in his mind, and therefore (saies he)

a Vid. p. 118.

— — — ἄν' ἰδὲ γὰρ πᾶσι γράμματα

τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν δῶνα δῆμον καλῶν,

<sup>a</sup> ἰδὲν περὶ γὰρ Κημὸς Καλῶς.

In like manner the men dealt with the names of their Mistresses. which they wrote sometimes upon the very leavs of the trees, according to that of Callimachus,

Ἄλλ' ἐν δὲ φυλλοῖσι κακομύθια τύττα φέροι

Γράμματα, Κυδίστην δὲ ἰδρῶσι Καλλῶ.

Let on the leaves so many letters lye,

As my *Cydippe Faire* may signifie.

Which puts me in mind of what Lucian in his *Ἐρωτας* saies of one that was ready to dye with the love of *Cnidia Venus*. Τοῖς αὖ ἀπὸς ἐχάραττο, καὶ πᾶσι μαλακῶ δένδρεσσι τοῖς ἀφ' ὧν καλῶν ἐκίρουντο, not a Wall now but what was engraven with. nor a *barke* of a tree but what proclaimed *VENUS FAIRE*. How glad

glad would they have been, if they could have written them upon paper, and have worne them in their hats as we doe. but no wonder they did as they did, having a copy written to them by Nature, ( for

— — — *Inscripti nomina rerum*

*Nascuntur flores* — — — ) and an example given them by *Apollo* himselfe, who when he turn'd *Hyacinthus* into a flower of the same name to keep his memory alive when he was dead; not contented with that

*Ipse suos gemitus foliis inscribit, & Ai, Ai,*

Lib. Ovid. Met.  
10. Fab. 5.

*Flos habet inscriptum* — — —

Thus was the memory of *Ajax* preserved, and one halfe of his name, as the same Author has it.

*Littera communis mediis puerorum, viroq;*

L. 13. F. 1.

*Inscripta est foliis: hac nominis, illa querela.*

But the vehement love of *Moschus* to *Bion* his deceased friend thought those lamenting interjections too little, unlesse there were written a *Κῆνος καλῶς* besides upon the same Flower.

Νῦν ἴδ' ἀνὴρ θάλασσαν τὰ σὺν γράμματα, καὶ πᾶσι Ἀῖ.

Ἀμύβαντος σὺς πταλοῖσι, καλῶς πένθημα μαλιντὸς.

Καλῶς for him, and Καλῆ for Her was fure to be written, for never seem'd *Mistresse* founte, nor *Prison faire*. But for her part if she were *Κυανόφρων*, or had black eye-brows, she was counted faire indeed, according to that of *Gregori Nyssen*, καὶ ὁρῶν *Theocritus* μέλαναν φρενὸς χυμῶν τὸ δὲ μακρῶ, insomuch that *Jul. Pollux* saies, they had a trick μαλιντὸς τὰς ὁρὰς to black them: or if she were somewhat bigge of stature; and therefore *Aristotle* in his *Rhetorick*, puts τὸ μέγεθος, as part of the *Ἀρετὴ* τῆς σώματος, as he doth σοφροσύνη καὶ φιλεργία, for the most commendable virtues of her mind. What the Women of other times esteemed to be the τὸ κάλλος of a man I know not. It seems in *Aristotle's* time, it was counted most commendable τὸ σπῆρ τὸς πόνους χρῆσιμον ἔχειν τὸ σῶμα τὸς τε σπῆρτος ὁρῶν καὶ πρὸς βίαν ἵδ' ὅντα ἰδ' εἰν σπῆρτος ἀπολαύειν. But I haue talk't too long.

long of Love, or of Robin-hood, that never shot in his bow. I feare the Reader will blame me, for casting away so much oyle and labour upon such a subject, and (it may be) give his censure that *Oratio est vultus animi*. But those that know me will mistrust his Physiognomy, for defining the temper of my mind by my look in a paper. However now I am in, I will not stick but *propere sequi quæ piget inchoare*, \* and proceed to the Nuptials themselves.

Seneca Ep.  
115.

\* Tacit.

## CAP. VII:

## De Nuptiis.

THE parties being both agreed, unlesse the Wench were as yet *Acerba* (as Varro calls her) or *συνελθούσα*, but a sower grape (as Eustathius) and not yet ripe (*Matura viro* in the words of Virgil.) they were thus betrothed and yoked together. The man did in the presence of witnesses, promise himselfe after the manner of the Latine forme, *se sponsam post concubitum invitam non deserturum*, and so gave her one *μνῆσεν* or other in earnest: the Woman she was *desponsata*, promised or bestowed upon him by the Parent or the Guardian; as if the promises of a woman were false enough to make the saying among the French to be true.

*Qui femme croit & asne mesne,  
Son corps ne sera ia sans peine.*

And yet (it seemes) though they feared she might breake a promise, they thought an oath to be strong enough to hold her. For sometimes at the consummation of the businesse, they went both into the Temple, and there ingaged themselves mutually by oath, as it is probable by the practice of *Clitophon* and *Leucippe*, in the Temple of *Isis*, where the man swore *ἀγαπίσεν αὐτὸν ὅρκω*, and the Woman, *ἀρδεα ποιήσας, ὅτι αὐτὸν ἀποσθῆναι δεῖται*. I doe not remember that the *Athenians*

Achil Tat.  
l. 5.

nians had that good-fellows-trick of the *Galatians*, to make a *poculum conjugii* as well as *Charitatis*, & to pledge their troth in a cup, a trick by which *Camma* is reported to have poison'd *Synorix*, (whom she pretended to marry) for kissing her Husband. Or that they used the custome of the *Macedonians* of cutting a Loafe in two between them with a sword, related by *Q. Curtius*. Surely it had been a true Roman *con-farreatio*, if they had. The rites usually observed at a wedding are said to have been invented by *Erato*. They were partly these. The Daughter being betrothed, was led by her Parents into the Temple of *Minerva*, as who would say to take her leave of the *Virgin*. Besides this, before she can cease to be of the *herd* of the *αἰζυγες* \* κῆρας, take heed, *Great Diana* will be clean out of patience, if she have not a draught of the blood of a Heifer calfe never yet married in the *yoake*, (and so the siter for the *maid* that gives, and the *maid* that takes (and a crop of her haire besides, according to that of *Euripides*.

(e) Μόσχοντε σὺν γαίῳ. αὖς δὲ πῶτιν χεῖρ  
\* Ἀρτίμυδι.

And therefore *Clytemnestra* (speaking of her daughter, whom they pretended to marry to *Achilles*) demands of her Husband.

(f) Πεσέλας δ' ἦδη παῖδος ἑταῆς δῖας;

Whether he had seen the sacrifice perform'd? But alas poore *Iphigenia*, she was not so much to do as to be a Sacrifice to *Diana* the Goddess of *Aulis*, and be made a calfe her selfe: When as our Woman, it will serve her turne to *καυνομένη* to *Diana* the goddess of *Virginity*; that is, give her in a basket for a present to stop her mouth, some curius needle-worke or other, with a prayer besides to this purpose (g) Ἀρταί μὴ νεμέσας-  
that she would not take it amisse if she married. But now I must tell you, that besides those rites of the *καυνορία*, there were others as solemne as they to be observed too, if ever they thought to obtaine the good will of the goddess. The manner

e Eurip. in  
Iphigen. in  
versu 11. 12.

f ibid. v. 711.

g Theocr. Id  
27.

manner of them, and the occasion, you have related by *Suidas* thus. It happened upon a time that a certaine Beare growing tame, came and liv'd in the *δῆμος* of the *Phlavidæ*: infomuch that at length a little girle durst goe so farre, and so neere, as to play with it, but the Beare quickly grew to be in earnest, and drew her blood for the *stake*: whereupon one of her brothers shot the Beare and killed it. Presently after this there happened a very great Pestilence in the City; and the Oracle being sought unto, answer was returned, that if they meant to remove it, they must make a decree, that every girle in the City of *Athens*, some time or other between the yeares of Five and Tenne of her age, clad in a *κροκωτὶς* or a Saffron colour garment, doe offer and devote her selfe to *Diana*, to make amends for the Beare, and therefore a girle thus consecrated, was her selfe called ἀρκτο- \* the Beare, and the action ἀρκτω and ἀρκτεῖν to play the Beare, (which me thinks was very unsitting for a Maid) and sometimes δεκάτερον, because commonly they deferred it till the last yeare, as she did in \* *Lensistrate*.

\* *Harpocr.*a *Aristo. h.*

Εἴτ' ἀλεγεινὴ ἢ δεκάτης  
Ὀδοῦ τ' ἀρκυέτις  
Καὶ ἀρκτεῖν κροκωτὶν ἐν Βραυρωνίῳ.

a *Athen. l. 6.*b *Pausan. in Arcad.*

c *Ad Odis. Σ.*  
d *In Plut. A. G.*  
3. Sc. 3.

\* *Εν Βραυρωνίῳ*, she saies, because it was to be done in the feast of *Brauronia* kept in the Month of *Μunichion* to the honour of the same *Diana*, who <sup>a</sup> is reported to have been delighted very much with *Brauron* a Village of *Attica*, where *Pausanias* (in *Atticis*) saies, that Image of hers, which *Iphigenia* brought from the *Tauri*, was continually kept, till *Xerxes* took it away, infomuch that she came to be called by the name of *Diana* <sup>b</sup> *Brauronia*. And yet after all this, for ought that I can see, she need not have been so Scrupulous of displeasing I know not whom, if she had *Cecrops* his own Law for a warrant, who first instituted the contract of Matrimony, and was therefore call'd by the name of *θεῖος*, saith <sup>c</sup> *Enstathius*: or else, (according to the Scholiast upon <sup>d</sup> *Aristophanes*)

*Strophanes* δ) quasi *θεῖον* δὲ τὸν τὰς θεῶν φύσεις τὴν πατρὸς, καὶ μητρός, because he had in a manner invented the two natures of a Father and Mother (as to knowledge, and in the way of a certaine couple) or rather (if you will), the natures of a Father and a Sonne; for before, neither the Father could be knowne by the Sonne, nor the Sonne by the Father. But some againe say, he had this name, because of his having the bodies of two distinct natures: in the upper part of a man and in the lower, of a Dragon, as he saies (in *Vespis*)

Ὡς κκερὶ φήσας ἀναξ ταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ δειμονίου.

And others, because of the many excellent Lawes, which he made. Whereby he is reported so to have tam'd and civiliz'd the brutish conditions of the ancient People of *Athens*, that he seem'd to have new-moulded them, and made them of another nature: in the sense, that the stones have been said to be turn'd into men, and the Trees into Lovers of Musicke: of all the reasons that are given, I like that best, which likes *Rhodiginus*: who saies he was call'd by this name, because the children did now appeare to be *δίδυμοι*, come of two; whereas before (for ought any one could prove) they might be but *μονογενεῖς*, the Sons of a Mother only: nay hardly that, at such time as the fashion was to be expos'd, or put out to nursing to Beares & Wolves and the like. But enough of this, for I have more work for the Woman yet. She must Sacrifice to *Venus* and the *Graces* for the past, and in speciall manner to *Ζηνο* καὶ *Ἑκάτης*, either as a *Pronuba* for the present, or as a *Lucina*, or a *Mater-familias* (as he in *Plautus* calls her) for the future. An ordinary thing it was among the Heathen to change their Gods, when they chang'd their condition; and I should be glad if we *Christians* could answer, *not guilty*, in this particular, being every one of us too too ready. *ὡς τὸς ἐτίθεν &c.* as *Aristotle* saies in his *ἠθικῶν* to have a new *Σύμμιον* δίδυμον every day at the least. The Sacrifices performed to *Ζηνο* went under the severall names of *περιγυμναία*, *σευτέλεια*, and *σευτέλαιοι* ὑπαὶ *θεατέλεια*, and *γαμήλιοι* ὑπαὶ, indeed the two

\* *Lib. 6. 25.*a *In Amphitr.*  
A. G. 2. Sc. 2.b *L. 1. c. 4.*

first are sometimes the same that *δῶματα*, the gifts sent before the wedding and the word *σπονδαι*, is used also sometimes in relation to others, as well as to *γυνο*, as it is to *Diana* in that verse of *Enripides* already cited. And therefore in another place of the same Tragedy, you have the Greek Souldiers at *Aulis*, when they saw *Iphigenia* brought thither in a Nuptial pompe, thus speaking.

Ἀρτέμιδι προστελίζουσι τὴν νεαίαν  
 Αὐλίδος ἀνάσσει τις νιν ἄξετος πύτε;

d Jul Pol. l. 3. And so sometimes to the <sup>d</sup> *Parca*, whom they had reason to remember, if they meant to be *scar'd*, or to *spinne* out their lives to the longest. But yet *Juno* (I think) was in a great deale more request among lovers then any of the rest, because they had her name so oft in their mouths. For among the *Latins*, when they would expresse themselves in the most affectionate manner that might be, they used to call one another by the name of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, as the old doted does his *Casina* in the Poet \* by the name of *Juno*:

\*Plaut. in  
Casina Act.  
1. Sc. 3,

does his *Casina* in the Poet \* by the name of *Juno*.  
*Eia mea Juno, non decet te esse sacrificem* two *Jouis*.  
 Add hereunto the title of *Ἥρα τειχεύς* (as there is also *χρῆς*  
*τείχευ*) under which she was worshipped, which (together  
 with the word *σπονδάς*) must be so said either from *τέλει*  
 anciently put for *γάμου* (as *τελειεύς* was for *γυναι*) from  
 whence comes *τέλειον* both the Sacrifice and the day or from  
*σπονδῶν* to initiate; or from *τέλειος* *adultus*, as if only such as  
 were of age, (& *ἐν βίῳ τελεῖον*)\* might be suffered to have the  
 happiness to marry. Now *Juno adulta* and *Jupiter adultus*,  
 were the more religiously worshipped at such a time *ὡς σπονδά-*  
*ντες ὅτι γάμων* (saies *Suidas*) as being esteemed in a manner  
 the *Primates*, and overseers of the wedding. Her'es a great  
 deale of cry about *Sacrifices*, but you'll say the *Wool* is to  
 come: only some *σπονδαί* there must be, least any Roman  
 should grudge the Woman the name of a *Sponsa*. Now be-  
 cause (it may be) I fet you a longing upon the mention of  
*Gifts*, I will speak a word or two more of *them*. The gift  
 called

\* Aristotle.

called by *Demosthenes* *Γαυηλία*, was that which they sent to the *ἐπαύρας* for the making of a feast, when they were to be admitted into the Tribe of their Husbands. The gift of either party to the other at the time of the Nuptials, they called *ἔδνα*, (as they did also those which they gave when they went a wooing ) But the *ἔδνη* *χρῶν* was a garment bestowed upon the husband by the Wife, (giving of apparel was very usuall once, both with the *Jew*\* & the *Gentile*.) And you need not wonder at her for liberality, if she gave *\* Genes. 6. 24. v. 51.*  
a cake to him that had a Pasty in the Oven, for if she brought her *ἔδνα*, she had her *ἐπιμήνια* to carry away. Nor can you blame her for immodesty in giving, who was to be given her selfe: for else (it may be) before it was come thus farre, she might beare the blame of the proverbe *femme qui donne's abandonne, she that gives is soon gotten*. The petty gifts then given by the Parents they called *μεινὰ ἐπιμήνια* as were those which were giving after the Wedding. The Dowry bestowed upon her by her father at the first, *ἐπιμήν*, that which was afterward added to improve it, *ἐπιπρομήν*. (thus some have thought good to distinguish, and look their gifts in the mouth, but they may be too free of their distinctions) At her first bringing to her Husband, she had bestowed upon her by him and her friends *τὰ ἀνακαλυψήρια* (which was also the name of the day it selfe) otherwise called *ἐκέρητρα*, *ἐπιμήνια*, *ἀδριμματα* and *σεσποδγυρία*, and all for the same reason, viz. because those gifts were given at *illa pateretur se videri*, saies \* *Victorius*, to make her take off her vayle, and be seen. In such a way *Jupiter* is reported to have bestowed upon *Proserpina* the City of *Thebes*: according to those verses of *Euphorion*, as they are cited by the Scholiast upon *Enripides* in *Phanissis*. *\* Var. Lect. l. 25. 6. 3.*

Τῆς ῥα πότε Κρονίδης δῶκεν παρὲς Περτιγοροῖα  
Ἐν γὰρ ὅτε σφῶτον μὲ ἀποπνήσσειται ἔμμελα  
Νυμφίδις ἀπείργοι παρακλίνουσα κέλυπ' ἔνν.

καλυπ'εν saies he, or καλυπ'εν according to I. Pollux: for al-  
though



though she might now shew her face & be modest nevertheless, yet *before*, she stood behind a red vail or hood, with which she hid her selfe. & so deserved the name of *עלמדה* if it were for nothing else\* but for that. This *Luteum* vail is other-ways called *εἰς*, in Latine *Flammeum*,<sup>a</sup> in Hebrew *עצ*, such a thing as *Rebecca* had when she met with her Husband, *Gen.* 24. 65. or *Tamar* when she met with a worse thing *c.* 38. 19. The reason why they were not *unvail'd* till they came to be *covert Baron* (I meane at *Athens*, for at *Sparta* they say, it was the cleane contrary) is by *Charilam* (cited by *Cal. Rhodiginus*) deliver'd *vail'd* under these words *ἐτι παρ' ἡ κόρης ἀνδρας εὐρεῖν οὐκ, τὰς δ' ἰσχυρὰς σάειν καὶ ἔχοντα*, the scope of the man, or the true reason of the custome though I cannot easily hit, yet I may give a very great *ayme*, when I say, *Nulla fuga forma est*— (as *Ovid* saies of *Peneis* when *Apollo* pursued her (or when I expresse my selfe in the words of *Nonnus*.

*Καὶ πάλιν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ λυτοῖσι τοῖσι σκευάσται.*

Men long to see a face that's hid, the more.

Indeed the case was otherwise with the Sophister *Hermocrates*, who having a Wife, that was none of the handsomest, put upon him by the Emperor *Severus*, and being demanded his *ἀνακαλυψίμω*, very handsomely answered to put it off, *ἐκαλυψίμω ἢ ἐν ποταμῶν λαμβάνων*, I had more need give her somewhat to let her *vayle* alone, unless she were better then she is. Whether these *Flammea* were of the same making that their ordinary *πίτλα* were, I cannot well tell; but if they were, (as I have some cause so to think, by those words of *Iphigenia* as she was going to be Married *Εἰ γὰρ ἡ λεπτὴν δὲ καὶ δακρυμαῖα πορ* \* *Εχρσ*—) then I must tell you, they were so thinne, that their faces might well have been discovered, and the covering been let alone, for *Helen*, it seems, could see the flowers thorow them.

*Ἦος με χλοερὰ*

*Δρεπομένην ἔσω πάλαν.*

*Ῥόδα πίτλα—*

But

But this may be easily answered: for as (you know) a *moun-taine* that is a farre off, may be hid by putting but the little finger between: so againe, one man is able to see another plainly thorow that which is sufficient to hide *himselfe*. And so much for the gifts at present, perchance you may have more anon. Now the custome was for the Bride to be carried from her *παρθενὸν* Chamber, to her Husband, in a Coach (or some such kind of thing) which the poore Girl in the Poet\* (complaining to *Agamemnon* of her abuse) could terme little better then being *ferried in Charon's boat*.

*\* Ἀλλ' Ἀχιλλεύω ἄρ, ἔχ' ὁ πηδῆος*

*\* Οὐ μοι σκευεῖσά ποσσιν : ἐν ἀρμάτων δ' ὄχεις.*

*\* Εἰς αἵματόν γε μὴν ὑπερδιδόσας δόλω.*

To *Pluto*, not to *Pelem's* sonne

You would me then have married,

When mee to bloody Nuptials

In Coach and fraud you carried.

The fellow that was the Coach-man, carried a Torch in his hand, if we may gather so much by the *Nuncius* in another Tragedy, for he saies, he had done this office for *Helen* himselfe.

*Λαμπάδων μινμήμιθ' ἄς δ' τετρατέροις.*

*Ἰσποσις ἐχθρῶν παρθέρον: σὺ δ' ἐν δόροισι*

*Σὺ δ' τῷ δ' νόμῳ δὲ μ' ἐλπίς ὀλβιον.*

(I make bold to trouble you with so much Greek, because it explaines the custome so fully.) The song which they sung as they went along, they called *ἀρμάτειο*: μέλθ', from *ἄρμα* the Coach, the Axle-tree whereof they burnt as soone as they came to the Bride-groomes doore, *ut signarent illam sibi perpetuò mansuram, neq, inde ullà tempestate recessuram*: to \* *Alex.* shew that she was never to returne from thence againe: just as *William the Conquerour* burnt his ships at *Pevensey*, that so his Souldiers seeing their returne to be desperate, might Fight the more *desperately* (as we use to say,) or with the better courage. The *νυμφαγωγὸς*, *νυμφῶν*, or *πυρρῶν* that was

Y 3

was

\* See another reason in

Prov. c. 3. v.

19.  
a *Jheron.* Sat. 2.

b L. 13. 36.

a In *Anst.* v.  
372.

b *Eurip.* *Hel.*  
v. 150.

*Id.* in *Hel.*  
v. 728.

\* *Alex.* ab  
*Alex.*

was sent to fetch her, either fate by her side in the same Coach, or else went a long by her Coaches side in another, and was therefore called *πάροχος*, from *ὄχλος*; unless that she were either willing, or constrain'd to foot it, for then he could be but *χαιδῆς* a Pedee. This custome for the Husband to lead his Wife home by the hand of a proxie (yet in fashion among Kings and Princes) was sure to be observed at his second marriage, for then (saies *a* *Eustathius*) *ἡ Σείας* (*ὁ νερόμυς* saies *b* *Pollux*) *ἔνυμφον μετένευ*, he might not do it him selfe, perhaps out of shame, because they accounted it a disparagement for a man to Marry the second time, yea though his former Wife were dead, as (it may be) I shall have occasion to shew you hereafter. Besides the *νυμφόπαις*, or the *Bride-man*, & some of her owne friends, there went along with her a *νυμφόπαις*, or a *Bride-woman* to take of her vayne, and dresse, and undresse, and do other such offices as should be required. Her Wedding ornaments were precious stones and jewels, especially about her hed, such as *a* *Hermione* had in the Tragedy.

*Κοσμηδὸν δὲ ἀμφὶ κεφαλῇ χρυσῆς χλιδῆς.*

Her *Wedding-garment* all of purple, save in one place, (where her other garments were to be of that colour, and no where else) *ἐνθα ὃν ἄλλαις ἐδῶσαν ἡ χλωρὰ τὸ πορφύρεον ἐκτὶ χρυσοῦς λῶ;* and there it was gold: which agrees very well with that of *Hesiod* concerning a *Virgin*.

*οὐ πῶ ἔν' εἰδὺς ἀσπυχεῖται ἀφροδίτης.*

Who never yet the Works of *Golden Venus* knew.

I think I might venture upon this custome to interpret *πῶ πορφύρεον τὸ παρδῆριον* (in *b* *Eustathius*) in another sense than others have done. When she came to the house, she found the Doores all hung with Garlands already, *Domus tota laureis obstita*, saies *c* *Apuleius*: it seemes they carried not till *\* Juno*'s time

--- *Foribus suspende Coronas*

*Jam pater es* --- Neither was it any what strange to her to see those ornaments upon the House, for she her selfe had the same according to those words of *Clytemnestra* to *Achilles*.

*Σοί*

*Ἐοὶ κατὰ σέλας ἴσθ' ἵν' ὦς γαμμεύσω.*

And (I think) her Husband too, *κατὰ σέλας ὠσας*, speaking to the Father, whose work it was to trimme the Husband; as it was the Mothers to adorne the wife. That custome of adorning the House with Garlands, was very much in use among the Romans too, and as much detested by the Christians, *Christianus nec Laureis jannam infamabit*, saies *d* *Tertullian*. Those Garlands have been made either of *Verbena*, consecrated to *Venus*, and so they made them in *Italy*; or of *Asparagus*, and so they made them in *Beotia*, or else of the leaves of the hearbs *Σισυμβριον*, *Σίσυμνον*, and *Μήκων*, and so they made them at *Athens*: *Σίσυμνα δὲ καὶ μικρῶς καὶ σισυμβριον ὀνόμα' ὅτι σισυμβριον ἐν νυμφόχοις*, saies the *a* *Scholias*: the leaves had the name of the hearb in the plurall number. The *Garland* made of *Sesamum*: leaves had the name of *Σισυμνῶν*, or *Σισυμνῆς*, but the *Cake* which they made of the graine was called *Σισυμνῶν*. For Cakes they usually bestowed upon them at their day of Marriage, as well as Garlands, as *He* saies in the *\* Comedy* (telling how all things were now ready for the Wedding)

*Ὁ πακοὺς πῆλ' ἀπὸ Σισυμνῆς ἔφυλλα ἤσκηται.*

And made they were of *Sesamum* rather than any other thing *διὰ τὸ πολύγονον* (saith the *Scholias*) as if it were the bearb *Polygonum* a name very well ominous to the new Married people. Whether the custome of kemberg her haire with a Speare (such as had been kept by a Fencer with the losse of his life) were in use among the *Grecian* Women too (as *b* some say it was) I cannot determine. But among the *Romans* it was, and they called such a Speare *hastam celibarem*. The reason why the woman made use of such a comb, or made this use of a speare, is thought to be, either *quasi fortes eā de causā viros se genitura omineatur*, because she omited that by this means she should have strong men to her children, or *quod sponsi disciplina se subditam fateatur*. Because she acknowledged her selfe subject to her husbands discipline. As the woman went forth of her fathers

*d* *Eurip. Iphig. in Aut. v. 705.*  
*c* *Declan. 39.*

*f* *De Coron. milit. c. 13.*

*a* Upon *Aristoph. in Pa.*

*\** *Aristoph. Pac.*

*b* *Alex. ab A. lex. l. 2. c. 5.*

*a* In *Homeri Il. β.*

*b* *L. 3. c. 5.*

*a* *Eurip. Androm. v. 147.*

*b* *Ism. l. 10.*

*c* *L. 3. Met. \* Sat. 9.*

thers house, she was to be *lifted* out over the threshold, just as the Emperours were wont to be lifted by the Souldiers at the time of Election, to pretend a constraint. You see, 'tis *ducere* (*Uxorem*) almost every where, and yet they say, that *Love will creep where it cannot goe*. As she entred into her Husband's house, the Boyes, and Maides sell a throwing of Figs, and junkets upon the head of the Bride, not to upbraid him of *ycophancy*, but as an *omen of fruitfulness*, *ἀστυκία σμῖον*, (saies *Rhodiginus* out of *Theopompus*) which puts me in minde of a foolish custome once in fashion with some of *Us*, viz: upon *Twelve Eve* (as they call'd it) to put a part of their toasted *Bean-cake* upon one of their Trees, and so to cry *Whatsayle*, and sing a *Carmen* for a fruitfull yeare. The trumpery thus thrown or *powred* out, they called *καταχύματα*, as the word is used by the Poet in his Comædy of *Pluto* where he brings in the Woman ready to doe the like upon *him*, and so to give him the *joy* for his new-bought eyes: saies *Shée*

— — — κομίτω κατὰ χύματα

Ὡς πρὸ νεωγνήτισιν ὀρθαλοῖς ἐγώ.

Upon which words the *Scholiast* notes it to have been the custome also for a new servant, at his first comming into the house, to have him to the fire side and there to *sow* upon his head *κίλλυβα, ἰχθύες, ποίνικας*, Junkets, and Figgs, and *Palme-branches*, and a hundred other such trinkets. But this I thinke was done, not onely as he saies, *εἰς εὐπορίας σμῖον*, to make it an *Omen* of fruitfulness (as they had done to his Master before) but also for the benefit of the old Servants, who when the *Scamble* was made, gathered up all that was throwne, and demanded it for their due, as *Seniors* (in *Oxford*) doe the *Fresh-mens-gawdies*. All this while the Gods were not forgotten neither, but some *beast* or other was bestowed upon *them* for a *victim*. In the cutting [of it up] (to shew that in *Wedlock* all bitterness and choller must be cast aside) they tooke the *a Gall*, and flung it with a most eager loathing behind the Altar during the time of Sacrifice.

<sup>a</sup> Cael. Rhod.  
l. 28. c. 21.

If

if there happened any thing *obscene* or unlucky, the Nuptials were dissolv'd, and thus it happned to *Clitophon*, and *Calligone*: for an Eagle came and snatcht away a piece of the Sacrifice as it lay upon the Alter. Now this Sacrifice was usually performed by the Fathers (and none so fit to be the Priests of their own family) as may be gathered from the practise of *Agamemnon*: who, when his Wife call'd upon him to make ready the *Wedding cheere*, very religiously made answer yes,

Θύτας γε δύμαδ' ἄντρον ἔχελαι θύσαι θεῶς.

When I have done my Wedding Sacrifice.

As also by that which you may read of the like practise in *Achilles Tatius*, where he speaks of the Marriages of *Lycippe*, and *Calligone*. In this Sacrifice they directed their Prayers in a more speciall manner to *Jupiter* *Ὀυρανός*, and *Juno* *Συζύγια*, if it may appeare by that of *Libanius*. *τὰ παλαιὰ ἐπισημαί, καὶ θεογονίον Δία, καὶ Ἡραν Συζύγιαν ἐπίνοστοι πάντες*. By reason of this and other solemnities of their Weddings, you will not imagine what a profanation they made it to disturb the business never so little, or to offer any incivility to either of the parties, especially to the Wife: as for instance. One *Callicles* (of whom you may read the story in *Phocinus Codice* 108.) being accused of bribery to the *Areopagus*, they summoned him to make his appearance at the Court to answer the crime; but the Sergeants that were sent (saith my Author) *τὰ πρῶτα ἰδόντες ἐπερασμένα, καὶ γνόντες ὅς ἐστιν τετυκός νυνὶ γαίῃ, σφόντες δὲ ζήτησαν ἀνεχώρησαι: καὶ ὅδ' αἰσθασαὶ ἐν ἔχρῳ ἐπισπλάσσει γυναικὶ τεογύμα*, as soone as they saw but the *signes* of a Wedding (the Garlands which hung at the doore) and were informed of a Nuptiall Sacrifice: because they would not rush uncivilly in upon the new-Married-Wife, they made no more enquiry after the Man, but returned presently back againe, and the court was contented with the *newes*. So likewise in the Warrs with King *Philip*, having intercepted severall Letters of his to his friends, and among the rest

<sup>b</sup> Ach. Tat. l. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Eurip. Iph. in  
A. v. 721.

Libanius De-  
clam. 35.

Z

one

one that was directed to his Wife *Olympia*: when they came to reading of the Letters in the Court, they no sooner cast their eye upon that to his Wife, but presently every one cry'd out *μήτε λύειν, μήτε ἀναγινώσκειν*, that it might not be read, nor so much as broken up: <sup>a</sup> Περὶ δὲ γὰρ αὐτῶν γυναικῶν καὶ δὲ γυναικῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀποφύγετον ἀπὸ τοῦ, ἐκ ἐνδομῶν δημοσιεύειν ἑαυτοῦς εἶναι, because they thought it a thing no way befitting them to divulge that most secret converse by letters betwixt a man and his Wife. From the service of their gods, betwixt a man and his Wife. From the service of their *Genius*: but amidst a they made hast to the service of their *Genius*: but amidst a great deale of good cheere, the Man and the Wife were all waies noted <sup>a</sup> for a great deale of temperance too. The Bread which they had was carried about in a basket by a Boy with his Garland of Thornes, and boughs of Acornes, singing as he went <sup>b</sup> ἔσθον καὶ δὲ, εὐρον ἀμεινον, I (or they) have avoided a worse evill, and met with a better. If he spake in the person of the Man, he ment that he had met with *optimum malorum*, the best of the three evils at the least; & so it is not so bad as *Out in the frying pan into the fire*; (unlesse you will prize the finding of a Wife, after the rate of the leasing of her, for so (they say) *he that hath lost his Wife and sixpence, hath some losse by the money*). The Musick which they had was singing *ἀμειβόμενοι*, by turnes; and calling upon *Hymenæum* (as the Romans did upon *Tullius*) <sup>c</sup> ὦ Τυλλῆ, ὦ Τυλλῆ, imitated by him in *Plantus*.

To *Hymen*, *Hymenæe*, To *Hymen*.

And this they did either in a thankfull commemoration of one of that name, who had sometime sav'd the Maides of Athens from a generall ravishment; (such as there was once of the *Sabines*) or else in a sorrowfull commiseration of another, that happend to be kill'd by the fall of a house the very day that he Married. What ever the Man was, they seem to have given him the honour of a God, and therefore to have been very loath to give him distaste, in omitting any part of the Nuptiall ceremonies.

*Quid*

*Quid si etiam offendam Hymenæum?*

Saies he in *Plantus*. And this it was that made them keep such a noyse in the Streets, as they did with their To *Hymen* <sup>a</sup> In *Casim* *Ad. 4. Sc. 3.* *Hymenæe*, as soon as ever she was out of her Fathers house.

<sup>c</sup> Ὅταν ξυῖ δὲ μεταβίβωιν ἐξ ἀγορῆς οἴκῳ.

saies *Clytemnestra*: <sup>b</sup> which agrees with that of the other Poet <sup>b</sup> Eurip. *Iphig* in *A. v. 693.* in the same place.

*Age tibi sen dum illam educunt huc novam nuptam foras,*

*Snavi cantu concelbra omnem hanc plateam, Hymenæe.*

Whether twere the fashion in Greece to fet the Woman first in the lapp of *Priapus*, I cannot tell: But (if I mistake not) *Lucretius* ha's somewhat of such a thing, and I might speake more of *Priapus* too, if it were fitting. As the Woman was led into the Chamber, (<sup>c</sup> θάλαμῳ or <sup>c</sup> παρὰ δα) to shew whereto the must, there was a five carried along with her, and a pestle hung up at the doore, *ἡ ἀστέρη* (as *I. Pollux* saies) or to signifie that hereafter she must learne to put her hand to any kind of labour. When the Man and the Woman were both in (for the Woman was in first, as the fashion is with *Us*) according to *Solons* own order, they were to take a *Quince-apple* and eate it between them, *ἵνα δὲ τῷ πρῶτῳ σῶματι, καὶ τοῦτις ἕκῃον ἐσθυσεν ἢ ὁπότε καὶ ἡ δέκα, saith Plutarch in the life of Solon, to signify the pleasantness, and harmony which should be in their talk at first.* And yet notwithstanding, now they are in the very Bed-chamber, if a Chough would but come and scold (*grave cornicaretur* forsooth) 'twas enough to make them part for that time (at least) and leave the building imperfect; and this they called *ἀντιθέσεν δῖα, or γάμον ἀπλῆν*, because by this means

— <sup>a</sup> *Coniux miseranda Cayco*

*Lingitur, & primo Domus Imperfecta cubili.*

*Ἰμω* I said (or if you will *ἄνομιζε* *δαι* speake a little finer.) *δομάτων*: for this word is many times used by it selfe for *δάλαιμα*, as it seemes to be by *Plato* in his third booke de *Republ.* speaking of *Jupiter* thus, καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἰδὲντα καὶ ἵπας, *ὡς αὖ*

Z z

<sup>a</sup> *Valer. Flacc.*

δὲ αὖτὸ δοῦναι. ἐδίδαν ἐλθόν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐκλήμινον χαλεπὴ πρὶν  
 γινέσθαι. And yet I thinke, <sup>b</sup> *Hesiod* without any wrong done  
 (him) may be understood of any other businesse left *Rough-*  
*hewn*, unpolisht, or not done over againe, when he saies

Μὴ δὲ θῆμεν πρὶν ἀνέπιξεν καταλείπειν  
 Μὴ γὰρ ἐδιδόμην καὶ ἄλ' ἀκέρυζα κοῖταιν.

c Apud. Eu-  
 stat. l. 5.

c *Umenias* applies it indeed to our purpose: but now to pre-  
 vent such an omen as this, they set the boyes to cry *Κόρυ* ἐκ-  
 ρεῖ κορώνων, in manner of a *Scare-cry*, as if they had been set to  
 keep off the Rooks from the corne: κορώνων (I say) and not  
 κορώναι, in the *Plural* number, for herein the *Scholiast* upon *Pin-*  
*dar* is suppos'd to have mistaken; because neither that bird,  
 nor the Turtle at the making of their *Angury* (which was  
 commonly the day before the Wedding) was ever wont to  
 be lookt upon as unlucky; unlesse it came in the *singular*  
 number; and then the birds being *singled* and divided one  
 from the other, could not possibly be a good signe, to those  
 that were to be compl'd, and joyned together. But some not-  
 withstanding like the Choughs for very good *lucky* birds (as we  
 use to say) let them come how they will: either because they  
 are κορώνοι (as *Homer* calls them longliv'd or because *ea-*  
*cornicum societas est* (saies (a) one) *ut ex duobus Sociis, altera*  
*extincta, vidua altera perpetuo maneat.* Now in the Chamber  
 where they were to lye, they had two beds, viz. *Κλινὴν γαμήλειαν*,  
*ἔκ κλινῶν παρθένων*, or a *side-bed* for a change or *ἐπὶ τῇ κλινῇ* παρ.  
*διδύναι ἀδυνάσαι*, saith *Hesychius*. If the parties that were married  
 were very young, their Poets would terme the bed *κοῖταιν*  
*διον* λέγει, as *Aristophanes* does (in *Pace*.) and so *κοῖταιν* \* *διδύμα*  
 for the house, and *κοῖταιν* for the Wife. Before the Woman  
 could lye which the Man, she was to have her bath of water  
 heated of purpose to wash her body in, *νυμφικὸν λουτρον* they  
 called it, according to that of the Comedian in *Lysistrate*.

Στρε. Ὁ λουτρον, ἔνθα παρθεύει ἐλυσ' ἐγώ  
 Χορ. Κορέματ' ἐν τῷ δ' ὑψοῖς.

And in *Pace*, you have *Trygam* when he intended to marry  
*Opora*

*Opora*, giving order to his servant, as soone as he had brought  
 her to his house, first to provide him a pot of Water, and af-  
 terward to make the bed.

Ἄλλ' εἰσαγ' οἷς τὰς τῶν τῶν λαβὼν  
 Καὶ τῶν πύλον κατὰ λυγρὴ, ὃ δ' ἄρμαυ' ἔδωκε,  
 Στρίψιμοι καὶ τῇ τῇ κοῖταιν λέγε.

This water at first was fetcht as farre as from *Callirhoe*-well;  
 ἐκ τῆς καλλιρροῆς, εἰτ' αὖθις ἐκ τῆς ἐννεακρόνης κηδεύσης. But af-  
 terward saies a *Pollux* from *Enneacrunos*, which was so called  
 because it had nine severall *uteres* or *siffulas*, or *salientes*,  
 where the water sprung up: and so you might allow one for  
 every Muse in the City. But what if *Callirhoe* and *Enneacru-*  
*nos* were but two distinct names of the same Well. The one  
 expressing what *faire Water* it was, or how well and cleare it  
 ranne: and the other in how many places: for it may very  
 well be thought so by that verse of *Statius*.

*Et quos Callirhoe nonis errantibus undis*

*Implicat*—

Nay, *Thucydides* saies positively, they were the same. Only that  
 when the Well was repair'd by the Tyrants (as it was usu-  
 all when they new-made a thing, to give it a new name) it  
 received the name of *Enneacrunos*. Which if it be so, I think it  
 may be no offence to *Pollux*, when I come to that place of  
 his formerly cited, to read it thus ἐκ τῆς καλλιρροῆς, εἰτ' αὖθις τῆς  
 ἐννεακρόνης κηδεύσης. From *Callirhoe* afterward named *Enneacru-*  
*nos*. The Woman whom they employ'd to fetch this Wa-  
 ter, was commonly called the *Νυμφοφόρος*. When the Wife  
 was ready to undresse, her Mother took her haire-lace, and  
 winding it about one of the torches (for they had *οὐδὲν νυμφι-*  
*κὸν* too) burnt it out, and made up her haire with a new. The  
 Mother I said. For she commonly would *διδύχειν*, carry  
 the torches or hold the Candle to it, or any other work which  
 the *Pronuba*'s used to doe.

— *Non te auxit in thalamos parens*

*Comitata primos, nec sua festa manu*

Z 3

Ornavit

Ornavit ades, nec suâ laras faces.

Vittâ revinxit---

saies \* *Forasta.*

\* Senec. Théb.

For the matter of these Torches, or of what kind of wood they were made, I am not yet assur'd: whether it were *Corylus* commonly used for such purposes, according to *Pliny*: or *Larex*, or *Spina alba*, which they used among the Romans. and so likewise for their number, whether the custome were to have just five according to the number of the Gods which they pray'd to, viz. *Jupiter Adultus, Juno Adulta, Venus, Sna-dela*, and *Lucina*: they have not given me light enough to discover, a little glimmering I have, and some cause to conjecture, that there was a certain number required. Otherwise, why should the covetous Father in \* *Libanius* complaine so heavily (among other charges he was put to in marrying his daughter) that he could not *ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ νυμνῷ ἀγαγεῖν*, light the Bride to bed with one and no more. But for the bearer that it was usually the Mother, will appeare by the discourse that pass'd betweene *Clytemnestra* and her Husband in the \* Poets for when her Husband bid her goe back again to *Argos*, and leave her Daughter with him; she ask'd him

\* Eurip. Iph.  
in Aul. v. 7. 34.

--- τίς δ' ἀνέσται ἀλγύα, but who shall carry

the Torches then? and being answered *ἐγὼ παρ' ἑαυτῆς, ὁ νυμνίσις ὥπτις*, that he meant to do it himselfe: nay, quoth she *οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι. καὶ οὐδ' ἐγὼ μὴ γὰρ τὰδε*, that was never the custome, neither do you your selfe think it to be handsome and fitting And indeed, I think, *Clytemnestra* was wrong'd: for it seems to have been reckon'd not so much the office and the charge, as the Priviledge and the honour of the Grecian Woman. And therefore *Medea* made it one of her sad consequences of her banishment from the company of her Children, to be debarr'd the bearing of the Torches at the Wedding. O my deare children, quoth she, what a Wretch am I, who must thus leave you before, I carry the Torches.

(a) *τοῖον λάστρα, καὶ γυναικαὶ καὶ γυναικίσις*

*Εὐνάς ἀγῆλαυ λαμπάδας τ' ἀνέσσειν.*

Eurip Med.  
1025.

\* Tistruer, if *Agamemnon* had desir'd only to have lighted the Torches, she might very well have been blam'd for her passion, because then he had done no more then other fathers used to doe. *δίδως γυναικίσι λαμπήν*: I lighted the Torches, saies he in \* *Libanius*. But this office neither of them \* *Decl. 35.* could challenge from the other, but they shar'd it between them, for the Mothers might do it too, if we may believe the Author in those words which he puts in *Niobe's* mouth (but took them out of *Medea's*) upon the death of her children, *ἔγω γὰρ λαμπάδας γυναικίον ὧν ἐσοίμην* (not only ἀναστήν) *τοῖς ἡμετέροις καὶ τῷ πατρὶνι*: I made account to have lighted a Torch at the Wedding &c: At *Sparta* there was none of these doings, only the *Pronuba* shaved the Woman (whether because she had vowed to be henceforth her Husband) and so deliver'd her up to the man (if she had gone among the \* *Israelites* when she was thus us'd, certainly the People there would have taken her for a captive Wife.) \* *Deutr. c. 21.* The *Zona* which the Woman wore was untied by her Husband in the bed, *ζώνῃ δὲ ὡς ὁ κείνός ἐστιν ἐδουπνῆσεν*, *ὅς καὶ ἐκ ἐλυσεν* *ἐκ τῆς ἀπαρτῆτος* *ζώνης*, saies the *Scholias*t upon *Euripides* in *Helena*: certainly the name of *Λουσιζώνη* might be given to *Diana* as seasonably then as at the time of Child-bearing: and worshipped she was then, as well as at any other time. But at which of the times it was that they gave her the *Zona*: or whether there were another yet to be untied besides this: or whether it were tied and untied againe: or whether one knot were untied at first time, and another at the second; ther's the knot of question (if we may question for knots in bulrushes) Indeed that there was a *Zona* untied the Wedding night, I think it maybe prov'd by those words of *Alcestes*.

*Ἦν ἄρα ἔστ' ὅττις παρ' ἑταίρῳ ἐγὼ  
Κορίννατ' ἐκ τῆς δ' ἀνδρός---*

And that there was another left to be untied at the time of Child-bearing, I have reason to conjecture from the *Hercula-*  
neus

*nens nodus* formerly mention'd: because (I suppose) they call'd it by that name in allusion not so much to *Hercules* his strength, as if they would have it the *faster*, that is the stronger ty'd; as to his happiness in making of Children, as if they would have it the *faster* unt'y'd, as fast as ever it was by *Hercules*, who had seventy Children just. After they were both in bed, the Boyes and Maides (whom we may call the *Children of the Bride-groom*) stood at the Chamber doore, and sung their *ἐπιδαμνία*, or *χορεύματα*, with as great noyse as possibly they could, *ὡς ἂν παῖδες βέλτερον, ὥστε τὸ αὐτὸς ἢ φωνὴ μὴ ἐξέστη*, saies the Scholiast upon *Theocritus*, so that if the Wife should *Cry out* (as we say) before her time, the might not be heard. Which they had no such need to do, if that be true which they say, that one of the Brides friends, whom they called the *ὑπάρχης*, usually did him that good office to stand Sentinell at the doore, and keep the Women off from coming to help her. All this while the man was not so much wedded to his *pleasure*, as to be clean *divorc'd* from his friends; for besides the feast which he made altogether for the *Women*, (called *Θεσμφορία*, by *Isæus* in his oration for *Pyrrhus*) he made another for the *ἐπὶ τέρει*, as his Father in Law had done before him. This making of Feasts at Weddings, was properly called *δῶνα τῶν γάμων*, as it is in the Tragedy.

*Iphig in Aut. v.*  
707. & 720.

Κ' ἀπὸ τῶν δαίσεως τῶν γάμων----

And a little before.

Ἐνταῦθ' ἐδείκνυτο πολλὸς γάμος θεοί.

Neither was the Woman & her Mother behind hand at this kind of work: for they also kept a feast of purpose for the Women besides. And therefore saies *Clytemnestra* in the place but now cited.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ σήμερον τὸ γυναικὶ δῶναται.

The saying *aujourd'hui marié, & demain mari*, to day Wedded, and to morrow sadden'd, would scarce hold true among them. For the day after the Wedding, the mirth ranne as the feast as ever it did before, and the gifts were carried to the house

house in pompe, a Boy in a white coate walking before with a Torch in his hand, and the bearers in the reere, with suits of Cloaths and all sorts of Household stuffe, as Spooones, and Cups, and the like: a custome observed by the *Lacedemonians* with so much pride and excesse, that *Solon* was faine to make a Law to restraine the Suits to the number of three, and the rest of the things to a lower price. The gifts then bestowed they called *ἀπώλια*, (as those which I presented you before, were called *ἱπώλια*) and sometimes *παπαρθίνα*, as being that which (to speake in *Juvenal's* words)

*Primâ pro nocte datur* — and such gifts *Medea* once sent by her children to *Glanca*. But so with the vengeance, as she made them *ἀδωκεν δάμα*, killing her with the Spit, from which she gave her the roast.

Πάμφω \* τὸ αὐτὸ δῶρον ἔχοντες ἐν γαστρὶ  
Νύμφη νέεσθαι &c.

a *Eurip. Med. v.*  
784.

And this puts me in mind of some that reckon three daies for a Wedding, allowing *σενάγια* for the first *ἀπώλια* (when *I. Pollux. l. 3* the garment called *ἀπωλητήρια* was given by the Woman to the man) for the second, and *ἱπώλια* for the third.

# C A P. VIII.

*Quo tempore optimè ducatur Uxor.*

THE time of the *year* which they deemed most lucky to Marry in (for almost every Nation has had their *nefastous* time and dayes) was the first Moneth of the Winter. (Clean contrary to the custome of the *Persians*, who thought it fitter to follow natures example, and set upon the worke of Generation in the Spring.) But though they chalked but one part of the year, I hope they did not mark all the rest with a *coale*, neither can I think they had the same opinion of all the other Months, which the Romans *a Ovid. l. 5.* had only of the Month of *May*, (a) *Mense malus Maii mibere* = *Fest.*

A a

it

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it may be *malum* by *Plutarchus* consent. The best day of the Month, they reckon'd to be the middle or the Full of the Moone; that they might be brought to bed (as we say) the sooner, and grow the fuller themselves. But the best part of the day was the last, or the next to the night, and so they might goe to bed the sooner. Just at these seasons *Thetis* in *Pindar* would have *Thetis* to be Married to *Peleus*, as appears in those words of hers (and the Poets)

— ἐν δὲ γαμνυμένῃ  
Δὲ ἐπὶ μέγῃ ἐξέρτῃ  
Λυσι: κὼν χαλινδὸν ὤ-  
ρ' ἦσαν παρ' ἑταίρῃ.

But I make no question, (as exact as they were in *Marrying*) many of them had the fortune to be borne ἐν παρ' ἡμῶν *Quarta Luna*, as *Hercules* had. Besides, *Hesiod* is of opinion that the forth day (and I beleieve he meanes *ἡμέρας ἰαυίνης* of the first third part of the Month) was a very good day to be Married in, so that no *Oscinorum* bird did *obscure* or *occinure* sing another song to the contrary.

Ἐν γὰρ τε μάρτυς ἡμεῖς ἀγαθὴ πρὸς δίκην ἀκούει  
Ὀϊωνὸς κρινέας οἱ ἐπ' ἑργασι τῶτα ἀκούει.

Whereas the *ἑβτη ἡμέρας* (as he calls the eighteenth day, if you reckon thirty days to the Month) was in his judgment all as bad againe, especially for the Woman. But I must confesse, I rather incline to the judgement of the Goddess: especially having *Agamemnon* too (a man) on my side, who when the question was ask'd. — πῶς δ' ἦμῖν ἐγ' ἀντί;

a Eurip: Iphig.  
in A. v. 717.

made answer.  
Ὅπως Σελήνης ἐν τοῖς ἡμέραις καλὰ καὶ ὤρα.  
When that blest'd season of Full-Moon shall come. I doe not find the Romans to have been so scrupulous, as to think Marriage to be imperfect, unless it were at the full or never to be as good as it should be, except it were in *Men*, like the virtues. 'Tis true, the *Kalends* and the *Nones*, & the *Ides*, were daies of another colour, black & unsuitable with

b L. i. Sat. c. 5

with the mirth of a Wedding: and so were all Holy-daies whatsoever, and the reason you have given by *Macrobius* in these words, *Feris autem vim cuiquam fieri piaculare est: ideo tunc vitantur nuptis, in quibus vis fieri virginibus videtur.* To whom if you object that the *Nones* were no Holy-daies, he will reply, that neither were the *Nones* Holy-daies to any, neither *Religious* daies (as they call'd them) to such as intend to Marry, but only thus: all your *postridani dies*, that is the first daies after the *Ides*, or the *Nones*, or the *Kalends*, being accounted *acri* were not to admit of any Sacrifice. Now every new married Wife, the day after the Wedding was to offer a Sacrifice, which she could not doe, if she married upon the *Nones*. 'Tis true a *widow* might be suffer'd to Marry upon a Holy-day; (and *Varro* will tell you the reason) but in the *Parentalia* in *February*, and the feast of the *Salii* in *March* none at all. Besides having of *non-licet* daies, they had a custome to Marry only upon such a day as by the judgement of the Astrologer (to whom they sought) *copulas nuptiales afflueret*. But so much may suffice concerning the time of Marrying. I proceed to speak of the qualifications of the persons to be Married.

CAP. IX.

*Quæ requirantur in Marito*

THE Conditions required in a Husband were these. First, he must be no stranger; for if it could be prov'd that he was; both his goods and he too were sold, and the third part of the price went to the informer. Secondly hee must be no lesse then five and thirty yeares old, according to the Law; and according to *Aristotle* two yeares elder, But *Polis*, 7. according to *Hesiod* a little younger, or a little elder is seasonable enough.

Μήτε ξενικόν των ἑτέων μᾶλα πολλὰ ἀπολαίπων



Μὴτ' ὀπθῆς μάλα πολλὰ.

Μὴτ' ὁμολογῇ μάλα πολλὰ.  
 Thirdly if the Woman with whom she was to Marry, were  
 ἐπίκλησθ, sole daughter and Heire ( such a one as *Aristophanes*  
 in *Vespis* calls ὁμολογῆσθαι or πατρῶον ) he must be one of  
 the same house, and the next of the blood. But then there  
 alwaies were, and ( it may be ) there ought to be ( as I have  
 knowne the like in other matters ) some others of the kindred  
 ( if they were to be gotten ) to controvert the businesse with  
 him, and plead to the same; and then such Women were called  
 ἐπίδωμος, <sup>b</sup> and the whole suit Ἀμφισβήτησις, the question was  
 wont to be decided by the *Pretor*. Lastly he must not be one  
 that had another Wife yet living with him, at least he might  
 not be so, upon paine of being accounted a fellow of no ac-  
 count; or repute among the Citizens, for *Charondas* having  
 made this Law, μὴ τ' εὐδωκεῖσθαι ὡς τε υπερχέτω λόγῳ παρὰ τοῖς πολ-  
 λήτοις ὁ περὶν αὐτῷ κτήριον ἐπαύων, *whosoever shall super-inducere*  
*novercam*, let him be ἀτίμησθ, &c. Besides the hurt done to the  
 Children ( it being as good to have the Divell to their Dame, as  
 a *Step-dame* ) gave one pretty reason more against being the  
 Husband of two Wives in this sense, by way of dilemma: you  
 shall have his words, as I found them in *Arsenius* his Ἀποσπ  
 φησὶ γὰρ φιλοσόφου &c. saies he, Ἐπ' ἐπύτυχς ῥ' ὧντας τὸ πρῶτον  
 δουλεύει κατὰ παυτοῦν; εἴτ' ἔτι ἐπύτυχς γινώσκον τὸ πρῶτος δουλεύει κα-  
 βῆν πάλιν. ἢ ῥ' ἀλλήθεις ὁ δὲς ἐν αὐτῷ τοῖς πρῶτον αὐτὰρ ἄν  
 ἄρῳν ἂν δικαίως νομισθῇ. *If thou hadst good luck in thy first Wife,*  
*thou shouldst have kept thee well While thou wast well: if thou*  
*hadst not, thou art a little better then a Foole or a Mad-man, to*  
*bumble againe at the same stone.*

b 1. Poll 1.3.  
6.3.

a Monymebasia  
Archiepis.

CAP.

## С А Р. X.

*Quae requiruntur in Uxore.*

THE Qualifications required in a Wife, were these. First she must be *free*, before she put her neck in the *yoake*. For otherwise the Marriage was counted *συμβολα* rather than *γαμος*, and you might call the Woman (in the words of *Hesiod*) *ἡντινὺς γαμετῶν* --- If she were a stranger, she must pay soundly for it, no lesse than a thousand *δραχμας* to the City. This Law though it were for a time *let down* by *Péricles* his example, yet it was *brought up* againe by *Aristophon*. Secondly, shee must be six and twenty yeares of age, and yet *Aristotle* even in *Pilicy* can be very well contented to let the Woman *Marry* at *eighteen*. Out of indulgence to the Sex surely: for else he thinks it very unfitting they should *Marry* so young: both because *ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι πορνοὶ μάλ' ὄντες* they travell with a great deale more labour, and labour for their travell with a great deale more intemperance; and also because he had observ'd that in those places where they used to make so much hast, *ἀτελεῖς ὡς ἡμετέρα τὰ σῶματα*, the Puppies for the most part were blind, not so perfect, or not so bigge \* *Hesiod. Cpr.* of stature as else they would be. But then there is \* another: who would be intreated to let them *Marry* a yeare or two sooner then he,

Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τέτρ' ἡβών, πέμπτῳ ᾤγαμέδον.

And a another sooner yet (if I do not mistake)

a Eurip. in Hel.  
v. 12.

Ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς ἡβλῶ ἦλθεν, ὠρεῖται γάμων.

*Cum ad pubertatem venit, tempestivis nuptiis.*

Thirdly thee, must be but one; and no more according to <sup>b Athenians</sup>; and yet about *Socrates* his time, by reason of the scarcity of men, to make the more haift for a recruit, they made an Act for toleration of keeping a Concubine; (whom they made use of only *ad concubendum* for the present occa-

A a 3

tion

sion) and that Children begotten upon such a Woman were accounted for *νόμιμα*, as good as the best. And what will you say, if *Socrates* himselfe made use of this liberty? For I have read he did, and that besides *Xanthippe* the shrew, he had another named *Myrto*, the daughter of *Aristides*, of which two it is said, that upon a time they fell out, and were presently reconcil'd againe by their Husband, who told them, it was a shame for two handsome Women as they were, thus to fall out for one unhandsome man. But \* others, there bee againe that deny the whole. During that liberty, I cannot see how the Etymology could hold water *νόμιμα* τῶ δὲ ἀνα τῷ ὁμοίῳ, how the Etymology could hold water. *Hermione* herselfe, though she were *super indulta* over *Andromache's* head, did altogether dislike the encrease of the number.

— οὐδὲ γὰρ καὶ οὐ

ἀδελφὴν γυναικὸν ἀδελφὴν ἵπταται ὄχι.

Which words of hers were presently seconded by those of the *Chorus*.

Ἐπίδοτον τι γυναικὶ δουλεύει ἄνθρωπος.

Καὶ ἐνυγμῶσαι δουλεύει μάστις ἀνὰ.

Such envious things the Women are,

That fellow-mives they cannot beare.

And verifi'd they have been, not onely by her owne example in conspiring the death of *Andromache*: but by the ordinary practice of other such Wives among the Greeks, especially in the Country of *Epyrus*, when one to bring the Husband out of love with the other, made use of Magickall devices, especially such as might hinder her bearing Children to him, and so consequently his bearing affection to her, there being no better way then *a partu retinere maritos*. Thus *Neoptolemus* was made to hate his Wife *Hermione*, as she suppos'd, and so their told the other.

— γυναικὶς δὲ ἀνδρὶς ἀρρέακοις οἷσι

Νηδὺς δὲ ἀνδρὶος διὰ αὐτῶν δίδου,

When such courtes as these are taken

*Turgida*

*Turgida non prodest conditū ptyche Lyde*, Neither the keeping of a Spider in a boxe, nor the lash of a naked *Leperum* will doe any good. Fourthly, she might be halfe a sister to the Husband, so it be meant not *δουλοῦντος*, or *δουλοῦσσι*, or *uterina*; but only *δουλοῦντος*, by the Fathers side, or *germana*, as the word is used by *Aemilius Probus*; (whether in its *germane* sense I know not) where he speaks of *Cimon's* marrying his Sister *Elpinice*, *Habuit autem in Matrimonio sororem germanam suam, nomine Elpinicen, non magis amore, quam patrio more ductam: nā Atheniensibus licet eodē patre natus uxores ducere*. This act of *Cimon's*, *Athenians* thinks to have been done *ἄνομον*, contrary to the Laws, and so in a clancular way. But *Plutarch* saies he did it in a publike manner, not only by making her his Concubine to lye with him *συνεῖν*, (as he terms it) which agrees with that which I told you before concerning *συνουσία*, but *συνοικῆν*, \* taking her into his house to live with him, and that for a lawfull cause, (as he thought) *viz.* because she was to seek of a Husband fit for her condition. But for all this, I doe not see how he could by a Grecian well be excus'd, for *Hermione* (in the place above commended) made it alike *barbarum*.

— πᾶσι θεοῖσι μίγνυσι

Κόρη τ' ἀδελφῶν —

When Sonne is joyn'd with Mother,  
Or Sister with the Brother.

Unlesse you will maintaine the goodnesse of the practise *iben*, by the greatnesse of the Persons that used it before, I meane *Jupiter* and *Juno*, who had but one Womb, one birth, and one bed, (when they pleas'd.) Fifthly, she must be no Bastard, unlesse she were intended for a Bastard-maker, and in a *Proletarianus* manner, only for breed, I mean for a Concubine: for such I take to be little better then what *Talithibius* once said poore *Cassandra* was like to be made by *Agamemnon*, *viz.* ἀλκίπρον σκότια νυμφόπτεσσα, and the Children little better then *Σκότιοι*, if the Father were more in the dark. *Troad. v. 251.*

As

\* Rhod. Pa.  
nath. us

a Eurip. An-  
drom. v. 177.

b Eurip. ib.

a Juven. Sat. 2.

b Juven. ib.

c L. 13.

a Eurip. in

As for the Portion or Estate, she was either *ἐπίκλητος*, one that had no Brother, and was Heire to the whole Estate: or *ἐπιπροικιστή* that had a Brother, and no more then her part, or a portion. The greatest distinction between a Wife and a Concubine, was the having a *συνθήκη*, or a portion. Inasmuch that if any married with a Woman that had none, but was *ἀσυνήκωτος*; yet he would have the *συνθήκη*, the Writings, formally drawn up however, to make the World believe the best. Those writings were sign'd and seal'd in the presence of witnesses, and the man did *ἐπέχειν τι ἀποτίμω*, make over to the Woman some House of Land in exchange, and this they call'd a *ἐπιμήνιμα*.

a Harpocr.

## CAP. XI.

## De Divortio.

And now that they are Married, the Husband was to live with the Wife thrice in a Month (once for every part; for they divided their Month unto three parts.) or else, if she were an *ἐπίκλητος* she might goe to another, unlesse he were able to excuse himselfe by a lawfull impediment. Such as comable to excuse himselfe by *Hesiod* in those words of his, ing frō Funeralls is accounted by *Hesiod* in those words of his.

b. L. 2.

Μὴ δ' ἀπὸ θυγοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐπιποσῶν τῶν  
Σεραμίδων γυναικῶν.

Or by any other unseasonableness of time: for that they thought some times more seasonable then other, and some fitter to beget Men-children then Women, may appear by the words of the same Poet, speaking of the first day of the middle part of the Month.

Ἀνδρῶν δ' ὁ βέλτερος ἡμέρα δ' ἡ συμφορὸς ἐστίν.

And a little after of two other daies.

Ἐξ ἧς δ' ἂν ὁ βέλτερος δὲ καὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν τελεσῶν.

But if they were about any soleimne Sacrifice to the gods be the time what it would, it could never be lucky for either, And

and therefore at such times they used (as well as the *Israellites*) to obtaine altogether, or *ἀγνῶς ἔχειν*, pure habere, as the Poet call'd it, in *Afinario*.

*Si forte pure velle habere dixerit.*

If a Wife that was an *ἐπίκλητος* were overlay'd, or any way abus'd by her Husband, she might have a Writ *ἡ καταστάσις* *ἐπίκλητος*, otherwise called *ἐπὶ συγγένειαν*, and be suffered to leave him; and this they call'd *ἀποτίμω*: where as if the Husband would part with her, it was call'd *ἀποτίμω*, because he might tarry in his own house, and be rid of her company never the lesse. But one thing I must tell you too, that for either party to leave, or to put away the tother, was a thing alwaies very much detested among the Grecians. Inasmuch that at *Sparta*, even then when the custome was for so many Men and Women to meet in the darke, and every one to buy his pigge in the poke, the *Ephori* impos'd a mulct upon *Lyfander* himselfe for putting away one, that he did not like, for a better. But *ἀποτίμω*, for the Woman to separate from the Man, 'twas a thousand times worse then *ἀποτίμω*, even flat Rebellion, or delinquency at the best. Heare but what *Meden* saies of it.

b Eurip. Med.  
u. 236.

— ἡ δὲ δούκλειος ἀπαλλαγή

Γυναικῶν, ὅδ' οἶοντ' ἀνὴρα δαί ποιν.

Where shee puts it for one of the priviledges which the Man enjoys before the Women, to leave where he cannot like, whereas the poore Wife if she be well us'd, tis true, *ζελων* *αὐτῆς*—no life like hers—*αὐτῆς*—but if ill—*θανεῖν ἥσσον* there is no remedy but death, or she had better be out of the life. On the other side, what an honour they counted it to live content with one Wife, or one Husband in all: and what a disparagement it was to Marry a Second, not only after the Divorce, but even after the death of the former, a *Enripides* a In *Alceft.* 464, will tell you in the words of the *Chorus* to *Alceftis*, thus threatening her Husband, if he married againe, though she were dead.

Bb

B

But was it so indeed as *Medea* complain'd, and was the Woman to be miserable still without any hopes of redresse? no, for at length it was provided by the Law, that if she found the Conjugal yoke too strait, and had a mind to slip the Collar, she was to make her complaint to the *Archon*: who deputed other judges to consider if the cause were lawful, and so to give her a Bill of Divorce with this condition, that she engage her selfe by Band, never to returne to her Husbands house againe: and when this was done, she might either have her portion back againe from her Husband, or else serve him with a Wit & *ἐπιδομοσίου*, or allow her maintenance, and so much a Month for use, as long as she detain'd the mony.

## CAP. XII.

*De Mulierum scleragogia, & servillorum ministerio.*

BUT now whether the Woman reckon'd it sufficient cause to complain, to be put to servile employments, I know not, such abuses as this were many times offered. I do not stand so much upon keeping of the *Keyes*, or making of the Bread: (whatever (a) *Pletharchus* has complain'd of that employment) but the baser sort of servites, such as fetching of Water upon their heads: which the poore old Maid in the (b) Poet, might justly make one of the saddest parts of her slavish condition.

It seems the Grecian Women their fashion of carrying Water, was the same that ours is now; nay and the Roman too. for (c) *Ovid* saies of the Vestall Virgin her selfe (*Sylvia* I mean when she went to fetch Water, and slept away her Maiden head,

head, a good caveat for all Sleepy Servants)

*Πονικὴ ἡ σῦμμα σιτίλης ὕρνα Κομά.*  
And so likewise I did once conjecture that the Men amongst them used to carry Water and other things too, much in the same manner as they do with us, I mean with things put about their necks, because of that which the Poet saies of *Ulysses* his Mariners, when they took in fresh Water in *Sicily*.

— ἀμφοῖ δ' αὐχέσι  
Τὴν ὄρεοντα κατὰ βορέαυ καρχημέων  
Κράουεσθ' ὀδύνηδες —

Now whereas I mentioned only fetching of Water, I might indeed have added, any other worke without doores, which belonged to the Men; for to them on the other side, it was reckon'd neither a duty, nor a thing becomming to meddle with any thing within doores, or so much as to know what was done there, πρὸ δ' ὧν ἀνδρὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ πράττειν αἰσιναι, ὡς ὁ ἀριστοῦ. It is *Aristotles* own *Oeconomicks*, at least καὶ τὸ διαπολεῖν, though not καὶ τὸ λέγειν (to use the words of *Tusanius* sometime professor at *Paris*, who translated into Greeke againe, that part of the Book which concerns Man and Wife, the Originall being lost, and only a Latine translation of one *Arrhetinus* left) And very good reason you will say there is, for her to be excus'd from labour abroad, that must keep so close at home, and yet travel too: which close confinement made *Medea* thus bemoane the Wives condition. If any thing grieve her (saies he) she has no more company to make known her griefe unto, then μὴν ἑαυτῷ, her own poore soule: And whereas they object that the Husband goes to Warre, and does this and that, I for my part saies she

— αὖ πάλιν παρ' ἀνδρῶν  
Στῆσαι δέλοισι δ' ἀνμύλλων ἢ πάλιν ἀπαλῶ.

— Three times to beare a shield.

Thrice better do it think, then once to beare a child. And yet at home too, the liberty of the Wife was wont to be more or lesse, according to her Fathers liberality in her Portion

(a) Apud Eur.  
rip Troad.  
v. 293.  
(b) Id. in Elef.  
v. 55.

a Eurip. in Med.  
v. 244. 245.

196 *Archæologia Aitiaca. Liv. 4. Cap. 5.*  
Portion; and therefore *Hermione* told *Andromache* that in this  
she came behind her, though she were otherwise the first  
to my Father, saies she, sent me hither in a liberall manner.

à Eurip. An-  
drom. v. 153.

With many a good thing. That having been free of my hand, I might be free of my tongue too. Only you that brought nothing with you, must go to doores. And she that canot pay, must be sure to pray. This argument of hers, her Waiting-maide afterward bandy'd back to her againe, to put her out of her feare that her Husband would put her away. For, saies she, he did not take you as a Captive, or so, *ἐν τῷ πολλοῖς ἔδωκεν* he had something with you.

b Ib.v.872.

## CAP. XIII.

*De Mulierum honestioribus opificiis*

THE employments most usuall and least dishonourable, were seeing things handsome and neat in the house, and providing for the Workmen abroad: take it in *Electra's* own words

c Eurip. Elect.  
v. 75.  
d I. Polk. l. 7. c.  
10.

own words — *καὶ τὸν δὲ δουρὸς δι' ἡμῶν ἔχοντα*  
*ἔχοντα δὲ δουρὸς δι' ἡμῶν ἔχοντα* &c.  
 Or else woking at any kind of Lanifce, either at <sup>a</sup> *ἔκταρτιν* the  
 tazing, (shall I say) or the carding of the Wooll? or *ἐκταρτιν*,  
 when they went to spinne out the *ἐκταρτιν* or *stamen*, and *δελ-*  
*τα* (as they call'd it) to divide it, and part it from the rest  
 of the Wooll; or last of all at *ὑφαντικῇ*, the Weaving and  
 the joyning the *ῥινοὺς* together, with the help of the *κίρπυς*, (the  
*πέπτε* or the sley like a comb) and the *ῥινοὺς*, or the *ῥινοὺς*,  
 smooth stones (like our smooth lace-sticks, that they might  
 not weare) which hung at the end of the threds. The po-  
 sture in Weaving was more anciently standing, but at  
 length (when they were weary) it came to sitting (with  
 the Romans at least) excepting when they made plaine  
 work

work *refta* as the Latines call'd it, downe *right* with one thred  
a crosse and no more; for there was *μικλτιν* too, and a  
great deale of variety in some workes, as well as severall  
forts of works in the trade; which was the cause why *John* <sup>bV. 14. 18.</sup>  
in *Euripides* when *Crysa* told him of a Bearing-cloth of her  
own Weaving, askt her of what sort of making it was.

Ποῖοντι, πολλὰ παρθένον ὑφ' ἑσμευτα.

Unlesse you will confine this *ποίησις* to the Virgins, (as you may seeme to have caufe from the words but now produc'd:) and the Wives and Mothers (or their servants for them) to the planer work. As it is said, they were wont to be among the Romans, for *rectas parentes boni ominis causâ liberis confici curabant*, saies *Festus*, the Parents among them would make their Children none but *plane Cloaths*, to shew they must use themselves to *plaine dealing*. And seeing Weaving was a worke so well bebecoming the better sort (as appears in *Cressa* the daughter of no worse man then *Erethema* King of Athens, and that noble Lady *Penelope*) I cannot but wonder at *Electra*; if she have put it among her complaints in that verse,

Ἄυτῃ μὲν ἐκμοχθῶσα κερκίσι πᾶσι.

That she was kept to Weaving. For (it may be) her complaint was, rather that she could not be her own Woman, and Weave for her selfe, but must be still winning and never wearing, and starve in the Cooks shop. I must tell her thus much from <sup>a</sup> *Aristotle*, if she liv'd in a hate of levelling Democracy, though she were a married Woman (as she was a *Polit. l. 6. c.* 143. and πολυζώνου παρδίνου) that or any work else would have been thought too much to little purpose. For saies he in such a case, τοῖς ὑπαιρέσι ἀνάγκη χρηστὴν καὶ γυναιλὶ καὶ πατρὶν ὅσῳ ἀκάλυπτος δια τίνω ἀπαιτῶν, she must be forc'd to doe things her selfe for want of Servants, and so there could be no such thing at all as *Gynaconomy*, which might give the Wife any priviledge at all.

## CAP. XIV.

## De Uxorum &amp; Filiarum Oecuria.

NOW the Wives besides their *γυναικωνίτις*, (their Bed-chamber shall I call it, or their Attiring room, or their Dining-room, just as the men had their *ανδρωνίτις*) had their Dining-room, too, to work in, as the Virgins had their *παρθενών* to play in, for I feare me, *unides chambres font dames folles*, and *Agamemnon* is of my mind.

b J. Poll. l. 1. c. 8.

b *ἑλλασπον ἰσάν* too, to work in, as the Virgins had their *παρθενών* to play in, for I feare me, *unides chambres font dames folles*, and *Agamemnon* is of my mind.

c *Καὶ τίς γ' ἐν οἴκῳ ἐν μόνῳ ἔσθ' ἡ κόρη.*

c Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v. 737.

That Maids at home shud not be left alone. 'Tis true they were helpt to gadding abroad. Inasmuch that a man would think they had Sentinels set at their Chamber-doors, by the words immediately following the former,

*Ὀχυραῖσι παρθενῶσι φρουρὰ καλὰ.*  
And if their Daughters not yet shut fast in Wedlock, were kept so in safe custody, and as it were, in Prison (for which their *ἀνέμει*, things which their Parents gave them to keep them quiet, was a small amends) what strong guards think you would they put upon their Wives; when they ty'd them up as good as ever any King in *Epirus* had to keep his daughter, if we may believe the complaint of one of their Women, in

a Aristoph. in, one of their Poets:

— *ἡ γυναικωνίτις*  
*Σφραγίδας ὑπεβάλλουσιν ἥδη καὶ μὲν χλαί.*  
*Τυραντεῖν μὰς, καὶ σφραγίσιν μολοῖσιν*  
*Τρίφρασι κορυμνοῖσι τοῖς κοινῇς κύναι.*

— besides the scales

Upon the Womens Chambers, barres they lay  
To make us sure; nay more, their Maistive curs  
They keep to fright adulterers away.

No wonder then if the House-keepers of Athens, were *ἀνυπόδοι* House-dogs (as we call them) or *Keep-houses*, when it was so

so hard a matter to get abroad; if it were for nothing but the trouble and the charges. In which sense you may well take that of the same Poet in *Lysistratus* *ἡ γυναικωνίτις*. For if at any time they got forth (as a great many of them were *φιλέζουσι*, of a gadding Gossiping humour) they must be sure to have the attendance of Maides, and their *γυναικωνίτις* *κόσμος*, all the ornaments that belong'd to the Women about them; and if they were found defective therein, there were *γυναικωνίτις* (as they call'd them) officers of purpose, who had power to impose a mulct upon them for it, and the mulct was posted up upon a certaine plane-tree, a *J. Poll. l. 8. c.* which they had in the *Ceramicæ* for every one to read. But what doe I talke of going, when as Fathers and Husbands, were so hard on so jealous, as not to suffer their Wives, and Daughters so much as to look abroad; or if they were suffer'd by them, they should be sure to suffer themselves from others in their good name, as if they were wanton and the like. Hence it was that *Hermione's* waiting maide took up her Mistress's short gown, when she went forth, as doores in a palace.

a J. Poll. l. 8. c.

10.

*ἡ γυναικωνίτις* *κόσμος*, all the ornaments that belong'd to the Women about them; and if they were found defective therein, there were *γυναικωνίτις* (as they call'd them) officers of purpose, who had power to impose a mulct upon them for it, and the mulct was posted up upon a certaine plane-tree, a *J. Poll. l. 8. c.* which they had in the *Ceramicæ* for every one to read. But what doe I talke of going, when as Fathers and Husbands, were so hard on so jealous, as not to suffer their Wives, and Daughters so much as to look abroad; or if they were suffer'd by them, they should be sure to suffer themselves from others in their good name, as if they were wanton and the like. Hence it was that *Hermione's* waiting maide took up her Mistress's short gown, when she went forth, as doores in a palace.

b Eurip. in Androm. v. 876.

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\* Aristoph.



\* Poll. l. 8. c. 9.

pleasure of the \* Judges. The ordinary manner of punishing an adulterer, had as little modesty as the crime itself: it was called either *παλαίωσις*, or *παράδοσις* *synecdochically* the part for the whole. for having pluckt off the haire of his privities, they threw hot ashes in the place, and thrust up a Raddish or a Muller into his fundament, according to that of *Juvenall*, *Quosdam mechos & mungilis intrat*: Insomuch that ever after he was disgracefully call'd *εὐπράκτος*. A punishment little enough for so great a vice, so great I say, that *Solon* is thought to have tolerated the publike use of Harlots (as I formerly told you) of purpose to prevent it, And for the Woman having thus violated the Lawes of the gods (or the men rather, for they were better) she was not only forbid to goe to the Temples, but if she went any where else with the ornaments and attire which other Women wore, it was lawfull for any that met her to take them, and teare them, and if her husband lay with her after, he was branded for *ἄτιμος*, a base companion. On the other side, if the Women were forc'd, and openly abus'd, the Adulterers punishment then was no more then a fine. and you will not so much wonder at this manner of dealing with him, if you consider how the other commits Adultery with the mind too, as well as with the body of the Woman; and is so much more the dangerous of the two, as he that workes by a Mine, or can get in at a private way, then he that must breake the doore. For prooffe whereof, if the Adultery of *Agæsthus* and *Clytemnestra* which proceeded to the death of *Agamemnon* be not sufficient, I referre you to that practice of *Sejanus*: who having on a time receiv'd an affront from *Drusus*, had no other way to be reveng'd, *Cuncta remansit* (saies \* *Tacitus*) *promptissimum visum ad uxorem ejus Liviā convertere: hanc ut amore incensū adulterio pellexit ad conjugis spem, consortium Regni, & necem mariti impulsi.* In like manner, if a Man had ravish'd a young Woman, (so she were free borne,) his punishment was a fine, viz. a thousand

\* L. 4. Annal.

b Ifam pre  
Pyrrh.

*Drachma*, but then besides that, he was to marry her too; (unlesse it could be made appeare she had taken something of him in consideration) which puts me in mind of a story of the *Messenian* in *Pausania*: who to compell *Arifodemus* to give him his Daughter to Wife, pleaded that he had brought her with child: whereupon he to evidence the contrary, kill'd her with his own hand, and cut up her belly worke then *Virginis*. There was a time when a ravisher of a Virgin was to be ston'd shall I say, or prels'd to death, for they called such a punishment *ἀντιφύλαξις*, as *Homer* speaks,

Ἀντιφύλαξ ἔστω χυτὼν κακῶν ἄνδρα ἔστω ἔσθλας.



Cca

LIB. 5.







## LIBER QUINTUS.

## CAP. I.

## De Puerperarum Religione, &amp;c.

**T**HE Athenians (saies Plutarch in his *Marriage exhortations*) had three sacred plowings. One in the Sciron, another in the Raria, and another called *Buzugion*: but yet, saies he, ὁ πάντων ἰσχυρτατος ἔστιν ὁ γαμήλιος ἀσπός, ἢ ἀσπός ἐπὶ παιδῶν γενέσθαι, the plowing for Children is the best Husbandry. In that he calls it plowing (a word very sutable to a *Conjugal* condition) he agrees with the expressions commonly used by the Greekes of χράν, and Ἀσπός, and Ἀλάξ, concerning the Women. For as\* *Aristotle* saies in his *Politicks*, ἀπολαύοντα τοὺς γυναικας τὰ γὰρ ἔχοντα τὸ ἐγγένει, ὡς αὐτοὶ ἢ τὰ θυόμενα τὸ γυνή: as also with the use of the word ἀσπός for to beget, as you have in *Sophocles* his *Oedipus Tyrannus* ἠρώδην, and in his *Antigone* ἀσπός in the same sence. So† *Aristænetus* in one of his *Epistles* (speaking of a Woman to be Married) saies ἵνα ἀσπός γένῃ. And *Moschus* has an *Epigramme* of purpose upon Ἐπὶ Ἀσπός. The Latine word *Sator* answers very well to it, and so would

\* L. 7. t. 67.

† L. 1. Ep. 18.

would *Inferior* to the word βλάστη a bud, and βλαστάνειν, so commonly used in *Sophocles* and other Authors in the same sence. Now for a Woman with child, it was sometime the custome for about forty daies before her time, to abstaine from going to the Temples, and pray at home. But then *Aristotles*\* advice could not be followed, who would have a Law made to compell Women with child, to goe every day in Pilgrimage a certaine journey, to doe service to one or other of the Gods of Generation, ἐπὶ εὐαγγελίῳ τῶν περὶ τὸ γυνή. σπέρματος, and his reason was, that they might not βαδιστὴν grow *unlusty* by sitting still, but by this kind of travelling prepare their bodies for a worse: as *Plutarch* saies, *Lycurgus* caused the Maids of *Sparta* to use the exercises of wrestling, and coyting, and shooting and the like, that by this means having confirm'd their own health and strength, they might make the stronger Children, and might the better ἀγωνίζαντο πρὸς τοῖς ἀσπίταις, wrestle with the *throwes*. The principall god whom they pray'd unto, especially in the time of travell was *Diana*, calld by them Ἐλθούσα Σπὸς ἢ ἐλθούσα, from her readinesse to come to the woman at a call, or a crying out:

—Aperire partus(a)

a Horat. Carm. Sæc.

Lenis Iliithia—

So that from the office of a Hand-woman, and her handy-nesse or dexterity, and willingnesse to performe it, she was worshipped by the *Romans* under the name of *Egeria*, quod eam putarent facile Conceptam alium egere. saies *Festus*, an sometime, under the name of *Facilina*.

—Facilina templum Dianæ. b

Either a face, because she was painted with a Torch in her hand; (as if she did but hold the Candle to it) and so was *Iliithia* by the Greekes, ὅτι γυναικὶς ἐν ἱερῷ ἢ πύρρῳ εἶναι ἀσπίταις, (saies *Pausanias* in *Arcadicis*) because the paines of a Travell are so hott: or else from *facilis*, easy and without difficulty to be woone.

—Gravidis facilis Lucina puellis.\*

being cOvid. Fast. l. 2.  
likewise

likewise for the same reason called by the Greeks *ἡ μήνη*: as by *Orpheus*, by whom she is also termed *ἡ μήνη Ζηνει-  
ρα*, and *ἡ μήνη ἐπ' ἀγῶνος*, and *ἡ μήνη*, because she stood  
still ready as it were at the doore, and was alwaies at hand to  
doe the work of a hand-woman — *tu voto parturientis ades*.  
Or lastly from *facilis* easy, and without paine, because she gave  
the VVoman *facilem partum*, as he saies

*Ut solvat partus molliter ilia suos.*

For the same cause they gave her also the title of *Γενεθλίσ*  
as the Latins did that of *Genetrix*,

*Sive tu Lucina probas vocari,  
Sen Genetrix.*

To this purpose I remember a jest related by *Cicero* of one  
*Timæus*, made upon the burning of her Temple at *Ephesus*  
neer about the time that *Alexander* was borne: *Nem esse mi-  
randum, quod Diana occupata in adiuvandâ Olympiâ Alexandro  
gravidâ domo abesset, that it was no wonder, because Diana, was  
then taken up in helping Olympia and yet this jest (as dry as it is)  
Plutarch is so far from liking, that he saies it was cold enough  
to have extinguish'd the flames. Last of all she was also called  
ἡ μήνη, quasi ἡ μήνη ἡ μήνη ἡ μήνη ἡ μήνη, saies the 'Scho-  
liaſt, as much as to say *Lucifera* or *Lucina*. For by this name  
she was most of all adored by the Romans too, according to  
that of *Ovid*.*

*Dicite, tu nobis lucem Lucina, dedisti:*

*Dicite, tu voto parturientis ades.*

Now this *Lucina* (saith *Cicero*) was nothing but the Moon:  
*Luna à lucendo nominata est, eadem est enim Lucina.* And the  
Moon being (as *Varro* saith) *nascens in dux*, was therefore wor-  
shipped by the women in travell, *quod partus matureſcant ſeptē  
aut nonnullam novem Luna curſibus*. Or because the Moon by  
the ſilling and opening moiſture of her influence, *gravidita-  
tes & partus afferat, matureſcant, gignendū*, as the *Oronour* ſaid in  
the ſame place. If you chance to meet with a *Plurall* num-  
ber, as you have in *Homer* — *μνηστῆρας Εἰλιβύται*, and in  
*Aristotle*

*Aristotle* *δὲς τὴν μήνην*, &c. you may take it to be in re-  
ference only to severall names of one and the same *Diana*  
and in especiall manner to those three viz. *Lucina* in Heaven,  
*Diana* above ground & *Proserpina* beneath in regard to which  
the VVomen among the Latins, used to call her *Diva triformis*,  
in their prayers at the time of Child-bearing,

*Quæ laborantes utero puellas*

*Ter vocata audis, adimig, letbo*

*Diva triformis.*

*Diana* should be a Gentle VVomen by the number of her  
names, *Diana*, I ſaid; for that was the ground, or the princi-  
pall name: all the other names seeme to be but the deſcant,  
or ſo many *Epithetes*, and *Sur-names* upon it. So in *Euripides*  
his *Hippolytus* you have.

*Τὴν δ' εὐλόχον Οὐρανίαν*

*Τόξον ὑψίστην*

*Ἄρτεμιν.*

In another tragedy *Ποσειδών Ἄρτεμιν λοχίαν* and

— *ποσειδῶν δὲ τὴν δαίμνα*. *Ἄρτεμιν* or *Diana* ſtands ſtill  
the ſubſtantive, and all the reſt hang like ſo many Adje-  
ctives. Beſides theſe to the Moone, they talke of other Sa-  
crifices to they know not whom themſelves, whom they  
worſhipped by the name of *Τριπρότομος*, *Coitus*, *Gyges*, and  
*Briareus* ſay ſome. So many windes, ſaies one (a) (that which  
is thought to be meant by the Gyants in the Fables.) But  
what have the women to doe VVith the VVind? it can blow  
them no good, but a *Tympany*, and ſo puffe them up with the  
conceit of a Child. *Orpheus* calls them by the name of *A-  
malcides*, *Protoclias*, and *Protocreon* and *Philochorus* ſaies, they  
were the three firſt men that were begotten. And here I  
muſt tell you of ſomewhat to be done by the Husband too;  
for he was to Sacrifice to the Nymphs, and pray to them  
then for the bringing forth of the child, as he was afterwards  
to give them thanks for the bringing it up. And thus much  
I conjecture by thoſe words of *Oreſtes*, when one told him  
that

<sup>a</sup> Etymol. Ds.  
Etion.

<sup>a</sup> *Aristoph in  
Luliff.*

<sup>b</sup> L. 2 de Nat.  
D. or.  
<sup>c</sup> L. 4. de Ling.  
Lu.

that he saw *Aegyptus* Sacrificing to the Nymphes.

Ἐγὼ γὰρ παίδων, ἢ ἐπὶ μίλλοις ὄντων;

For breeding was it, or for bringing forth?

a Eurip. Elect.  
v. 616.

## CAP. II.

De Puerperio, & sætu Masculo.

FOR the place where they lay in, whether it were a Chamber kept of purpose for that use I cannot tell; neither durit I conclude as much by the λόχοι βάλαμοι in *Enripides* where speaking of *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, he saies,

Ἰσχυροὶ δ' ὤντες τιν

Δίξασθαι βάλαμοις.

b In Bacch.  
v. 96.

At the time of travell, they were wont to take *Palme* branches and hold them in their hands, as thinking they had a vertue either to conquer the paine, (for a palme branch was a token of Conquest) or to make them beare up under the burthen the better, (for no weight will make a palme-brance goe downward) according to that of *Theognis*.

—τὴν πικρότητα ἄντο

ποίνης ὅτι παρὸν ἔστιν ἡ ἀλγία.

I do not read that ever before travell they stood in feare of such things as *Incubi*, and *Fæuni*, and *Sylvani*, as the Romans did, who (as *St. Austin* saies) suppos'd those Hobgoblins *improbos sæpe extisse mulieribus, & earum appetisse, ac peregrisse concubitum*. Or that after the delivery, they kept three men of purpose to sit up all night, one with an Axe, and another with a Pestle, and another with a Broome, cutting and beating, and sweeping at the thresholds to keep, (a) *Sylvanus* off him. I hope they had more wit. When the Woman was delivered, if it hapened to be a Male, then what joy and confidence of the building of their house (as the Hebrew phrase is) for *parit viri fundavit familiam*, saies *Apuleius*, such a one they accounted as a Pillar thereof, *κίονα δίδωρ*, saies *Lycophron* of *Heister*, and *Σίωσι ἀμφοτέρω κίονα*, saies *Pinder* of the same.

c De Civ. Dei  
l. 15 c. 22.

a Ibid. l. 6 c. 9.

l. 10. Met.

same. *Iphigenia* her selfe, when the dreamt of the fall of a house, could interpret the Pillars for so many Sons. For saies shee,

Στόλοι γόωνται ἐπὶ πασὶν ἄνθρωποις

The Males are pillars of a family.

And very good reason the men should beare the name of the Pillars of the house, if the Pillars of the House can beare the names, and the figures of the men. As they doe many of them to this day. Names they made choyce of the best, such as *Ἀλαρτῆς* among the Greekes, and *Telamones* among the Latins: but indeed the figure was commonly of the worst, with a hunch back, bowing under the weight, and therefore they were called *Gibbosi*, according to that in *Martial*.

—Ridetur Atlas cum Compare Gibbo.

Besides in ancient time, 'twas an ordinary thing to erect a Pillar instead of a Statue, or the Image of a man.

## CAP. III.

De infantibus lavandis & ungendis.

THE Child as soon as it was borne, was washt in Water (or else in Wine, if they follow'd the *Lacedæmonian* fashion, and desir'd to prove, shall I say, or to improve the strength of the Infant) of this washing mention is made in *Plautus* his *Amphitryon* thus,

Postquam peperit pueros, lavare jussit, nos occipimus.

Sed puer ille quem ego lavi, ut magnus est & multum valet! and so likewise in *Lycophron* (for I thing it may be meant of the child, as well as the Mother) where he speaks of *Priamus* his putting to death the Infant *Munippus* (as he did his Mother *Cilla*, rather then *Hecuba* her sister, and her sonne *Alexander*) though the Oracle named no body, but only bid him kill τὴν τέκνου καὶ τὸ γυναικὸς, the Mother and the Child, he did it saies he.

a Plaut. in Lyc.  
c. 2.

Πῶς ἐν λοχείῃσι χυτῶσαι φράσσιν.  
 from which verse (after I have started the question how he came to be called *Munippus*, if he liv'd not long enough to be named) I have occasion given to tell you more of this matter. For the Scoliaſt notes upon the word *Χυτῶσαι*, that after they had waſht the body with Water (heated I ſuppoſe it was, and uſed only for the cleaning of the body) they anoynted it with oyle, kept in a *χύτρον*, or a veſſell ſo called, which they had for that purpoſe. The reaſon I believe to be the ſame, for which they did it at other times upon the elder ſort. *οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ δὲ περὶ τῶν δούκων ἀποχρίσεις* (as the *Scoliaſt* has it) to cloſe up the pores againe after they had been open'd by the hot water, and to keep out the cold. This thing of annointing, was ſo conſtantly uſed juſt after the waſhing, that you ſhal have the word *χυτῶσαι*, ſometimes uſed to ſignify the ſame, as it is in *Callimachus* his *Hymne* upon *Jupiter*.

a In *Ariſtoph.*  
*Plut.*

ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ μὴτρὶ μεγάλῃ ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ κῆλπον  
 αὐτῆς διζήτο ῥόν ὕδατος, ὅκα τόκοιο  
 ἄσμεται χυτῶσαιτο.

b L. 9. Dio:  
 vii.

In alluſion to this *χύτρον*; *Βουκκίη* calls the birth of *Bacchus* ἀρχέτρον λοχείων. For coming from ſo cleane a place as *Jupiter*'s thigh, he had no great need of a waſhing.

C A P.

CAP. IV.

*De Cunnabulis, &c.*

THE Child being waſhed, it was wrapt in a cloth Woven for the purpoſe by the Mother in the time of her Virginity; as may be conjectur'd by that which *Crius* made for *Ion*. In this cloth the *Erethida* wrought the Image of the *Gorgon*, and the Snakes of her head, as it was in *Minerva's* *Aegis*, by helpe whereof *Perſeus* had cut it off. Beſides the likenesse of two Dragons drawn in gold, by *Minerva's* own command, and in memory of *Erethionius*: who being borne of nothing but *Vulcan's* ſeed ſpilt on the ground in forcing of the goddeſſe, and having feet like a Dragon was expoſed and committed by her, to the cuſtody of two vigilant Dragons.

ὅθεν Ἐρεχθίδαι ἐκείνῃ  
 νόμος τις ἔστιν, ὅτις ἐν χυτῶσιν αὐτοῖς  
 τρέφει τέκνα.

*Eurip.* in *Ion*.  
 v. 25, & 1427.

Saies the Poet: and from thence came the cuſtome I ſpeake of. And yet perhaps neither thoſe Dragons, nor the others in imitation of them, were any thing elſe but emblems, uſed by the authors to expreſſe the narrow and watchfull care that was, or ought to be had in the breeding of the child; for ſo they are liket to have been aſſigned for keepers of other things too, as of the apples of the *Hesperides* &c. & that becauſe of their quickneſſe of ſight, according to *Festus*: *Dracones diſti* ἐν τῷ ὄρατιν, quod eſt videre: clariffimā enim habebant oculorum aciem quā ex cauſā incubantes eos theſauris cuſtodire cauſā ſινεργίας. Being wrapt in the cloth inſteed of being put in a cradle, it was either layd upon a *Clypeus*, as an omen of fortitude in a time of Warre: (& thus was *Hercules* himſelfe, and the *Lacedæmonians* generally uſed; thus alſo the \* *Celts* uſed the children when they \* *Sirabol.* 7. threw them into the *Rhen*:) or elſe upon a *Vannus* or *Ventilabrum*.

labrum quod alimentorum copia & bonitatis Symbolum conjectabant saies Rhodiginus, as an omen of peace and plenty.

**C A P. V.**

*De Infantis gestatione circa focum, & de nominis impositione.*

When the child was five daies old, they took it and carried it about the hearth running: perchance to initiate him to the *Laves*, and make him one of the house. At the same time the custome was for the Midwives to wash their hands. Now in token of joy for having a child the Parents bedecked their house with Garlands, and in congratulation the kindred that intended to be at the naming-feast, sent their γαῖθιλος βοτῆς (as *Aeschylus* calls them in *Eumenides*) before, as they have used to doe with us at a *Christning*. the things which they sent, were commonly *Polypodes*, and *Sepia*, whether as rarities, or for what reason I am yet to seeke. The verses of *Eubulius* cited by *Athenensis* c. 2. speake as if those things were not kept till the feast, but us'd the same day, as likewise Doves, and Thrushes, and Coleworts with oyle, and tosted pieces of *Cherofnelus-cheese*, and I know not what: the whole solemnity of the day is called Ἀνορθώσις, and so is the *Genius*, or γαῖθιλος ἡμέρας, ἡμέρας Ἀνορθώσεως, from the running about the hearth: (which it seemes was plac'd in the midst of the roome) or as we may call it *Dancing about our cole fire*, for we read of no more but the hearth: but surely there must be a fire, for *Helychius* saies, those that carried the child must be naked. The naming-feast which I mention'd, was kept upon the seventh day after the Birth, saies *Aristotle*: and his reason is, because that day was observ'd to be very criticall to most things, τὰ πλείους γὰρ ἀπειρὶ πέρι τῆς ἡμέρας, and therefore, saies he. when that day came, if they perceiv'd the child to be well, then they presently gave it a name, οἱ μεσιότητες μάλιστα τῇ σπομένη, as presuming

it would continue so. But (with reverence be it spoken) I rather believe it to have been upon the tenth day (or the tenth *nights* rather) because the feast which they kept was called *Σκηνία* and those which then sacrific'd (for that was to be done first) were said to *ἀσκήσαντες* or *ἀσκήσαντες* *ἐσθάναι*; and at the same feast (saies *Swidas*) were the Kinred wont to meet all together, to be witnesses (as we call it) to the naming of the child, after the manner of the Romans at the *Nominalia*. A-gaine, besides the authority of a Scholiast upon the word *ἀσκήσαντες* (in *Avibus Aristophanis*) I have the plaine testimony of the Poet himselfe in the same Comedy in another place, where he brings in *Pisitheros* thus speaking of Athens, in an allusion to the custome,

Οὐκ ἄρτι δύνω πλεῖν διεξιέναι ταῖς ἐξῇ.  
Καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν ὡς παρὰ πωλίσω νῦν δὲ δεύω.

Now a \* Father might give what name he pleas'd to any of <sup>a Enslav'd, in</sup> his children: but usually the eldest sonne was call'd by the <sup>11.5.</sup> name of the Grand-father. I cannot say that they kept this name, and had no more: for many times they chang'd their name, as they chang'd their condition. Thus the daughter of Proteus, when she came to be elder and wiser, assumed the name of *Thonee*; thus \* *Leucippe* when she was bought, was <sup>13.</sup> new-nam'd *Lacana*; and *Ismenias*, *Atraces*, when he became <sup>5.</sup> enslav'd. And indeed for the Servants, it was an ordinary thing to give up their names, and all to their Masters: who presently gave them new, such as they thought fit. Either from the Country, *ἰσχυρῶς*, or the colour and complexion, as *ἰσχυρῶς* or *ἰσχυρῶς*; or some good quality in him, as *ἰσχυρῶς*. Or *ἰσχυρῶς*, or else from the day or the time whereon they bought him, as *ἰσχυρῶς*. At Rome the Master gave them a name of their owne: but 'twas when they set them free, and so a new name was a token of liberty too: or of something better, as of an adoption, (when the adopters name was the better of the two) or some other good fortune: which made him in *Lucian*, when an Estate fell to him,



## CAP. VII.

## De Nutricibus.

THE Nurses during the time of sucking, were called *πιδαι* (from *πιει* the same that *μαστ* the pappes) but after they came to be Weaned (*ἀπογαλακτίζεσθαι*) *ἑσολ* dry Nurses. Now the custome was for the Nurses (the better to harden the Children *ἄσθ* *liberioris* \* *αὐτῆς*, and to make the Nurses the more neat and cleanly) to be often carrying the children abroad in the waies and the streets: and in case they should be unquiet, the Scholiast upon those words of *Aristophanes*,

*ἄδεται ῥυτίδων πογγίῳ βεβουμένον.*

Saies they were wont to have their sponge full of hony, in a little pot alwaies ready for the purpose. Of all Women they counted a *Lacedemonian* the fittest for a Nurse, (and such a one *Alcibiades* had himselfe.) Or rather indeed the *Athenian* Women were so proud, that they counted it a disparagement to them, to be nurses themselves. And therefore the Woman in *Demosthenes*, when it was objected to her, that she had sometimes used this base employment, was faine to excuse it, by the necessity of the Famine, which was in the City at that time And so likewise you shall finde *Hecuba* in *Euripides* complainyng of her unhappines, that she must be forced to such an office as this was. When they would *lull* as we call it) or *lalle* a child a sleepe, they used *lallare* to cry *ἄλλα*, or *βανκαλᾶν*, to sing songs to it. Their songs they called *καταβανκαλίσεις*, and sometimes *νύννια*: (for so is *nania* used in the Latine too, as in *Arnobius* lib. 7. *Somno occupari ut possint levés audienda sunt nania*.) such a kind of song is that in *Theocritus*.

*Εὐδαί' ἐμὰ βρέστα γλυκερὸν καὶ ἐμῶσιμον ὕπνον*  
*Εὐδαί' ἐμὰ ψυχῆν, δὲ ἀδελφεῶ, ἔντα πάντα*

\* *Οἷος*

\* *Ὀλῆσι οὐνδ' ἔοιδεν καὶ ἡλπίσι δ' ὦ ἦκαδεν.*

Sleep my little soules, &c.

For thus they were wont to *κατακαλεῖσθαι* to the child, calling it also sometimes *ποδαῦν*, or *ωιδουρεύς*, or *καταδουρεύς*; and the like.

## CAP. VIII.

## De expositione Infantum.

BUT we shall have no need to trouble our selves to get Nurses, if the child either dye of it selfe, or be *exposed* to dye by the Parent. If it dye in the time of it's infancy (before it had teeth saies *Pliny*) it was to have but a cold buriall without any fire, or any funerall sacrifice or solemnity in Mourning or otherwise As being (in the words of \* *Juvenal*) *minor igne rogi*. Which practise is by *Plutarch* in his *Consolation to his Wife*, produced for an argument, to persuade her not to grieve for the death of her child; Saies he *ἡ δὲ Ἰσοκράτης + αὐτοτελείης πανηγυρικῆς, ἀεὶ τῶν πατρῶν*. The custome of *exposing* childring, which the *Græcians* call *ἐκτίδαι*, with the people of ancient times was very usuall; it was exercised upon such children as were lame, or deformed, or defective in any of their Members. We \* read indeed that *Moses* was used thus because he was *πῶς* or a godly child: but he was rather *hidden* from *Pharaoh*, then *exposed* to the river. This practice was in most places at the pleasure of the parent: but at *Sparta* I read that they took better advice: for there they had a Committee of purpose called by them *Λέχαι* appointed to examine every child, whether it were *ἑσπαχίς* καὶ *βασιλῆος*, sound or not. The places where they exposed them, were sometimes Rivers and Lakes, such as *Moses* was put in by his Mother, and *Romulus* and *Remus* by their Uncle *Aemilius*; sometimes a sinke or a gutter, according to that in *Juvenal*.

E c

υπατάς

— *ὡς αἱ σφαῖραι*  
*Ad spurcos decepta lacus.* Sometimes a deep pit, such as the Lacedemonians had at *Taygetus* in common for all, sometimes Woods and desert places, such as *Oedipus* had, as *Seneca* saies: *in alta nemora pabulum misit feris Avidus* — and sometimes the wide Sea, as *Justin* saies of one *Habides*, (if that be his name,) *Gargoris Habidem nepotem suum in mare projecit iussit.* If a child were exposed any where upon the Land, after they had swathed it *ὡς σπάραντος fasciis*, they put it in an earthen pot. Such a pot some would have to be meant by the *Cantharus* in *Terence* his *Andria*.

— *verum vidi Cantharum*  
*Suffarcinatum.* As if it were *Suffasciatum*. Whereas others would have you read it *Cantharam*, for an old Woman of that name, and *suffarcinatum*, for as much as *succinatum*. It is sometimes called *ὄστρον*, as by *Aristophanes* in *Ranis*, where he speaks of *Oedipus* thus

— *ὡς τὸν γυναικῶνα*  
*ὅστις ὄστρον ἐν ὄστρον*  
 And sometimes *χύτρα*, saies the Scholiast upon the same place, whence comes *χύτριν* exponere. What kind of thing that *χύτριν* was, wherein *Cremata* exposed her Bastard in a rock in the *Acropolis*; or whereof it was made, I cannot so well determine. *Euripides* saies it was *χύτριν* a vessell, and that *Ion* the child was wrapt up in a skinnie, or a leather, and put into it, according to that

— *ἀναμύθηται σκύτος*  
*Εἰδικτὸν ἀντίπυρος.*  
 Me thinks it might be rendred *area*, and more properly so then *Moses* *כַּיִת* can be: for first he saies there was *σκύτριν* skinne or leather, roll'd or folded up, such as some of our Chests have. 2. It was fastend or lock'd of one side: *ἀντίπυρ* ab *ἀντι* and *πύρ*, as our trunks are. 3. It was sound also, and fit to be tumbled as he saies,

*κατέκτισεν ὡς σκύτον*

*Κοῖαν*

*Κοῖαν ἐν ἀντίπυρ ὡς σκύτον*

And for *χύτριν*, that will serve well enough for any such thing, as well as *vas*, or a *vessel*. If the child were exposed on the Water, it was usually put in a thing made like a basket made of ozers, or bulrushes, daub'd and clos'd with slime and pitch, such as that we read of in \* *Exodus*. But though \* *C. 2. v. 3.* they thus set him out to the mercy of fortune, they would be sure to set him forth too, in the best manner they could, with rings, and jewels, and garlands, and many precious ornaments, either in a way of mourning, to doe as they did to the dead, according to that

— *ὡς ὅτι παρδέρει χιτῶν*

*Τέκνον σε, ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ὡς δὲ θνητὸν.*

\* *Eurip. Ion.*  
*v. 26.*

Or in a way of care and providence, that if it liv'd, and any one happen'd to find it so lying, and would \* take it up (as *Tolleret*. they call it) he might have his *τερένια*, or *θνήσκεια*, his charges to breed him advanc'd to his hand: and if it dyed, there might be enough for him, that would bestow the paines, to bestow the cost too in the burying, according to that in \* *Terence*.

— *cum exponendam do illi, degito annulum*

*Detraho, & cum ut una cum puella exponeret*

*Si moreretur, ne expers partis esset de nostris bonis.*

\* *Heautont.*  
*Att. 5. Sc. 1.*

These *παύρια*, or *crepundia*, most commonly were fastned about their necks, and were therefore called *στένεια*, as they were likewise called *παιδια*; for they were many times, bottles and bells, and such like toys (and so you must distinguish betwixt ornaments & marks) because they were for another end yet besides the former, *viz.* *ἵνα μὴ ἀγνοῖ* (saies \* *one*) not to adorne him, but to marke him so as to know \* *Dio Chrysost.* him againe, and to set the parents name therein, as we use to fasten collars and such like things, about the necks of our dogs: and it may be the rattle-bells were fastned to find him by the noyse, as we doe our Hawkes. For you must know, every child that was exposed, was not exposed with this in-



tent to be killed ( as some would have *exponere* and *necare* to be little different ) for many times they did it to hide it only , out of feare it would be killed , if it were not exposed ( as it was with *Moses* ) and sometimes ( if it were a Bastard ) they put it out of purpose to have some body nurse it , for if she bread it up her selfe, every body would know it. Besides, when they were exposed with that intent , the parents for the most part had not their ends , for none have proved more famous men then such as were exposed, as might be made appeare by sundry examples. At the best , exposing in my mind was very hard dealing, and therefore the *Thebans* ( whom *Aelian* commends for their humanity ) made a Law to forbid it : and so did the Romans too afterward : among whom , no exposed child could be free of the City. And yet *Aristotle* could afford to prescribe it, *ἔστω νόμος ὡς δὲν πατρὸς μὲν τρέφειν*. But he was then in *Politicks* , and that made him forger his *Physicks*, or his naturall affection. Our putting out children to Nurse , many times proves little better then exposing. Another way there was of carrying a child into another Country , where it might live in secret, and secure from an enemy: as *Orestes* did in *Phocis*, from the rage of *Aegystus*. And therefore *Sophocles* speaking of his manner of life in his youth, calls it *κρυπταὶ ἡβήτων*; and so you might have called him *δυσκρυπταίμων*, in the words of *Lycophron*: but enough of exposing. I will proceed to speak of the customes they used in education: only because their practise was different according to the birth of the child , it will be necessary to speak a word first of the severall sorts of children , in regard of their Birth or Parentage.

C. A. P.

## C. A. P. IX.

## De Liberorum diversitate.

According to the Scholiast upon *Homer* , there were four sorts of Sonnes. 1. *Ὀυρίωνος* , or *ἰθαυάρης* , in Latine *Legitimus*; ὁ ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ γαμβρῆς, the sonne of a married free Woman. 2. *Ὀ νόθος*, qui Latine reddi non potest, saies \* *Quintilian*, the sonne either of a forreigne Woman, or a Concubine; such a sonne, if his Father were but a private man, might have nothing to doe with the name, or the kindred of his Fether, *ὅτι τὸ τῷ νόθῳ μὲν ὄν ἀγγιστεῖται* saies *Aristophanes*: \* and if the case were thus when the Mother was a stranger, how just a cause had *Ion* in the Poet, to complain as he did?

\* In *Avib.*  
*Eurip.* v.  
591.

Πατρὸς τ' ἱπποκράτης, καὶ αὐτὸς ὦν νόθαυάρης

Μηδὲν καὶ ὅδιν ὦν κληθήσεται.

But if the father were a Prince, or some great Potentate ( if we may believe *Eusebii* upon *Homer* concerning *Teucer* b 11. 8. who was a *nobis* himselfe) being well born he must needs be lawfully borne, and so he was held in as great esteeme as any other, and enjoy'd his inheritance: *consuetudinis Regia fuit ut legitimam Uxorem non habentes aliquam licet captivam tamen pro legitimâ haberent, ut liberi ex ipsâ nati succederent*, saies *Servius*. Whereas the other must be pop'd along with a portion only of a thousand *drachma* at the most: \* this portion they \* *Harpoc.* called *τὸ νόθισμα* , which they had in the nature of gifts, like *נָתַתְּ* which † *Abraham* gave to the sonnes of his concubines: † *Gen.* 25. 6. it was the value of *πέντε μινών* of five mine saies the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* in *Avibus*, where I remember how *Hercules* ( *Jupiter* : bastard by *Alemana* : the Wife of *Amphitryon* ) when *Pisitheros* had told him, that being *νόθος*, by the Law he could not lay claime to the least part of his fathers estate, makes answer thus;

E. c. 3

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know, πάλῳ, and σκυμνός too, are frequently used by Sophocles and others, in no ill meaning at all.

C A P. XI.

De Plerorum Castigatione, &amp;c.

**I**F a boy at any time were refractory, and stubborne in committing a fault, the best means the Mother could use to perswade him to leave it, wasto shew him her breasts, ὡς κρηστὰς ἡμετέρας, saies the Scholiast upon Euripides, as the most powerfull motive she had. But the Fathers and the Masters took another course with them. If a boy had deserv'd to be whipt, he should be sure enough of his wages from them, for they tyed him fast, τῷ ἔσθῳ, to a block, to make him kisse the post, or τῷ σταλάτῳ, to a stake, or a pinne, and so whipt him. And thus to be punished they called it διαπάλη-whipt him. And thus to be punished they called it διαπάλη-whipt him. Διὰ παλῶν ἀδύσσει χαυνοί, saies he in \* Aristophanes, which is rendred by Frischlin, *Dissetus affigere humi*, as if they stretch him out every way as much as they could, and tyed his neck, and armes, &c. legges, too pinnes fastned in the ground for that purpose, to keep him from striving. I know not whether this were the same as they called \* τυμπαρίζουσι, or ταναρίζουσι. But I think that to have been rather the stretching, or pulling of the skinne, only *fidiculis* with little cords, to make it as tight as that in a drumme. Of which perhaps the Poet speaks when he saies, \* Ἡ δούρα σὲ ὀρεῖ ἐν σπλάγι, from the σπλάγι, or the stoole, whereon they stretch him or beat him, as they would a skinne or a hide. That torture of one of the seven brethren in the \* *Maccabees*, pulling his skinne off his head, may be very well reduced hither. And indeed I doe rather think the true *apotypismum*, to have been a torture of a rack exercis'd upon any by Tyrants rather then a punishment of boyes and children by their Masters. For so *Aristotle* in the second book of his \* *Rhetoricks*, saies that

\* In Equit.

\* En. ad Hebr.  
c. 11 v. 35.

\* L. 2. c. 7 v. 7.

\* L. 2. c. 8 v. 38

tiphon

*tiphon* the Poet, was used by *Dionysius* the Tyrant. And in the sixth \* Chapter of the same book, speaking of the want of all feare, in such as had already suffered the extremity of evils, he instances in those that are thus used; ὡς οὐκ ἐπιπομπίζονται. And so *Plutarch* in his booke de *Adulatione*, cries out upon those flatterers or *Ptolomee*, that even τυμπαρίζουσι, when he was thus racking and torturing of men, durst not open their mouthes to dissuade him. But yet I believe also, that there was an easier kind of τυμπαρίζουσι, when they would but beat a fellow with clubbs, which they called τυμπα (if that be not rather the word for the block upon which they suffered, for the Scholiasts on these words of *Aristophanes* in *Plutost* τυμπα κρηστὸν — saies both ἰσθίον which, and δίσκος with which they beat him.) And that boyes were punished with such a thing, I have cause to think, from these words of *Plutarch* ὁποτιμπαρίζετο τὸ παιδίον &c. But to returne to the punishment with the *Passalus*, I know the word πατάλα in that Poet, is more often used to expresse another manner of handling a man, by any body else as well as a Master. For instance, in *Thesmophoriazusæ*, when one kept a great deale of noyse and would not be silent, another threatens him to put a πατάλον in his mouth.

— ἰμβάλλειν

Πατάλον ἢ μὴ σιωπῇ.

Where the Scholiast saies he alluded to the trick (used with us also) of thrusting a stick in a Hoggs mouth, when they would see whether it had τὰς χαλαζαί, the *Haile*, or the Meazles or no; may in the Poet himselfe in *Equites*, you have one threatening to use another in this very manner. That fashion of tying the boyes to a stake to whip them, I remember mentioned by *Themistius*, under the name of στυγερὰ πάλαι, in his first Oration, where speaking of a *Plagosi Orbiliu*, that used to pay the poore and Fatherlesse children to the purpose, because they could pay him no better; saies he, παλάριον ἀντιχρὸν στυγερὰ πάλαιον, &c. And so *Promethæu*, whom

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the gods ty'd to *Caucasus-hill* for stealing fire is said by *Menander*, to have been *πρὸς τῷ αἰαλμῶνι*, or ty'd like a boy to the Rocks;

*ἔντ' ὁ δαίμων στυγερὰ παῖδα δμῶν  
Γέρωνι ἢ Ρερωνῶνι παῖδες ἢ παῖδες.*

Where he prettily pleads his cause, as if he had been too hardly dealt with for so small a matter. Nay the power of a Father over a child went farther yet: For first, ( before that *Solon* made a Law not to doe it unlesse it were found in the act of adultery ) any one might sell his child when he \* pleased. 2. The Father, if the Sonne had ben faulty, might *ἀποκρυῖσαι* ἢ *φύον*, \* *abdicere filium suum*, turne him out of doors. But not till the Judges had the hearing of the cause, saies \* *Demosthenes*: and then the *Κήρυξ*, or the Cryer went about, and cryed that ὁ δαίμων, such a one did deny τὸν δαίμονα, about, and cryed that ὁ δαίμων, such a one did deny τὸν δαίμονα, such a one to be his Sonne any longer. He that was thus refused was said *ἐκπίπτεν τὸ γένος*, to be ejected out of the Family, and nas called *ἀποκρυμνός*. If he were received into favour againe, he was said *ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸ γένος*, to be taken into the family againe: and then he could never be abdicated any more.

## C A P. XII.

De descriptione in *Φεστίας*.

THE Sonnes when they came to be three yeares old at the soonest, and seaven at the latest, were carried by their Fathers to the *φεστόρες*, and registred, in the Tribe. But before they could be registred, the Fathers were to take their Oathes that the children were theirs: and yet notwithstanding the Oathes, those heads of the Tribe if they listed, might question the matter, and put them to a suit in \* Law. The time on which this was usually done, was the third day of the Feast *Ἀσπάρτεα*. Which was so called, either according

\* *Demost.*  
πρὸς *Μαγιστ.*

ing to the Etymologicall dictionary, because the sons which before might be thought *ἀπατόρες* ἢ, to have no Father, did now make it appeare, who the Father was. Or according to the opinion of *Xenophon*, because at that feast, *οἱ πατέρες καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ συνέρχονται σφίσι αὐτοῖς*, the Fathers met altogether: and so it must be called *Ἀσπάρτεα*, in that manner as a wife is cal'd, *ἀσπός*, for *ὁμόλευτες*; or *ἀκοίτης*, for *Ὀμόκοιτης*: where A is *ἐπιτακτική*, and not a privative, as in *ἀπένος*, and many other such words. The third day of the feast was called by the name of *Κυρῶντις*, ἀπὸ τῆς *κυρῆς*, as who would say, a *Shearing-feast*: because at that time they used to cut their haire. The haire which they cut they called *κασίδιον*, or *σκολιδιον*, or *δρεπήκειον* *πλάκαμον*, in opposition to *πνυθπικόν*, that which they cut at a funeral. This lock (as I think it was) they had nourished of purpose till that time, and consecrated to the honour of one of their gods: as may appeare by the practice of *Bacchus* himselfe: for when *Pentheus* threatned to cut of his dainty lock, he had nothing else to disswade him, but to tell him it was sacred, ( like the lock of the \* *Nazarites* )

<sup>a</sup> *ἵερός ἐστι πλάκαμον τῷ θεῷ δ' αὐτὸν τρέφω.*

And thus *Theseus* is said to have consecrated his haire to *Apollo* at *Delos*. The haire thus cut because it was the first time that ever they cut it, and because it was done by way of an offering, they called *κόμης ἀπαρχή*, the first fruits of the haire, ( for the word both English, Greeke, and Hebrew, is applicable to any thing that is first. ) Such first fruits of his Beard <sup>b</sup> *Nero* put it into a golden boxe, which he adorned with precious jewels, and laid it up in the Capitol.

If the children were of an noble blood, the would go as farre as *Delphos* to give it *Apollo*. But if others, some to one god and some to another ( I think they had their choyce, for there were gods enough of conscience ) at Rome, besides *Apollo*, whom still one or other was carefull to supply ( notwithstanding his own *Intonsum caput*, & his long hairy beames)

*Hos tibi, Phæbe, vocet totos a vertice crines.*

E c 2

*Aesculapinus*

*Martial.*

\* *Numb. c. 6.*  
v. 5.

<sup>a</sup> *Eurip. in*  
*Bach. 494.*

<sup>b</sup> *Sueton. c. 12.*  
*ejus vita.*

*Asculapius* was remembred too. For *Statius* speaks of one *Eavinnu*, that sent his haire to him to *Pergamius*, in a curious box beset with jewels, and a looking-glasse besides,

—dulcesq; capillos.

*Pergameo posuit dona sacrata deo.*

How was it then that the Vestall Virgins hung up their upon a Tree: which *Festus* saies they kept for the purpose, by the name of *Capillaris*? The Nuns the Vestall Virgins of these times have no such need, they have gods and Saints enough and to one of them they bestow a love-lock for entrance, as I have heard it reported. But let me not runne on with my empty cart, and take no notice of that which is asserted by some, contrary to what I have delivered. *Car. Sigonius* and divers others say, that this registering in the Tribe-Book, and that which they called the *Searching* too, was not done till the boyes were fifteen yeares old, and the enrolling of them into the *Ἀντιεργικὸν χειματήριον* at eighteen: according to that of *Pausanias* in *Eliacis*, where he saies, that after they were eighteen yeares old, they were not to play at any kind of plaies with boyes any longer. But as yet, I dare be so bold as to be of a contrary mind. For first, *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus*, saies that when they went to be registred, they were *τρεῖς ἢ τετρεῖς*, three or foure yeares old, and there is my authority. 2ly, *Cnemon* in *Heliodorus* saith, he was registred as soon as he went to Schoole, which is like to have been sooner then at fifteen yeare old: and there is my example. 3ly, It is agreed upon by all, that at the time Registring they offered up the first-fruits of their haire: and it is not likely they should let it alone till fifteen yeares of age, and there is my reason. But, *Si quid novisti rectius* &c. It is all one to me.

C A P.

C A P. XIII.

*De ascriptione in Ephæborum censum, & in album Lexiarchicū.*

**V**Hen they came to be eighteen yeares old, *ἐν τῷ αἴματι* *ἐν τῷ αἵματι*, they were listed among the number of those that were *ἑσθλοὶ πύβητες*. And to this purpose they had certaine Officers appointed to searh them, to see whether they were so or no, and to prove them whether they were able (as they called it) *ἀποδοῦναι τὸν σὺν μῆτιν*, to keep Gard, or doe service in the City. ( of which hereafter. ) This searh or examination was called *ἡ δοκιμασία*. If they were found to be *πύβητες*, sound wind and Limb, and like to prove a Souldiers; they were led into the Temple of *Argulus*, where they took a solemne oath *conceptis verbis*, to be true to the gods and the Country. The time when this was done, was upon *Κυριατῇ* too, and that may be the occasion of the difference I lately spake of. Neither were these later rites performed without cutting of haire too. But commonly the fashion was, either then, or at any other time but the first, to consecrate their haire, natto this or that God, but to the river, especially such as belonged to the Country they lived in. *Sch. l. in* *Hom. Il. 4.* *οἱ τῷ Ἰσχυρίῳ ποταμῷ.* Thus much may be gathered from *Pausanias* his vow to consecrate his haire to the River *Sperchius*, if *Att.* *Achilles* returned in safety: and *c Memnon's* performance of the like to the river of *Nilus*: so (as *Paul* shaved his haire at *Cenchrea*, upon the like occasion, ) the Nazarites, when they cut their haire of \* consecration, were to make use of the contrary Element, and to throw it in the fire. But amongst the Greeks the custome of paying tribute of their haire, when they cut it, to the *Water* ( as to a principall cause of life and growth ) was very usuall both in men & women, especially in times of mourning, when they cut it most. I remember *Helen* in *Enripides*, where she bemoans the condition of the

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poore

poore *Trojans*, and the sad fruits of the Warre, speaks of such a thing done by the Virgins at the river *Scamandar*.

a *Eurip. Helen*,  
v. 372.

α' Ἀπὸ θ' παρθένων κόμης  
ἔδερτο σύγγονοι νεύρων  
ἐκαμάνδεον ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὀδύνην.

Unlesse you had rather think it was done (according to the custome) to the dead bodies of their friends, that lay therein. I should have told you that before they cut their haire, (I meane when they went out *Ephebi*) they first tooke a vessel of Wine (μῆδον οἶνου, saies *Hesychius*) and having consecrated it to the honour of *Hercules*, they began a health in it to the company there present. This ceremony, they called τὰ δινήσια from the Wine. And here it may not be amisse, to mention the distinction, which you shall find in the Poets of two severall waies of cutting of their haire, in use among the Greeks. The one was κῆρυξ, when they did but pare their haire, as they would doe the borders in a garden: the other called σκῆριον, when they shaved it so close to the skinne, that they made the head look like a σκάφη, a Skiffe, or a boat. When they came to be two yeares *puberes*, ἐμδωτὶς ἡβαντες, (as *Demosthenes* calls it) or twenty yeare old εἰς αὐθιγὰς εἰπαγεσθῆσαν they wrote men; or they became *sui juris*, and their names were registred by the *Demarchus* in his ἀνξίαρχικον λευκάκιον, in *Albo Lexiarchico*, a book wherein he kept the names of all those that belonged to his *Demos*. It had this name εἰσαφῆς ἢ λήξεων, (or ἢ κλήρων) ἀρχαίων, because as soone as any ones name was written therein, he might be master of an estate himself if he had it. Besides this book, there was πρῶτον πύξιον, a table of box-wood, wherein every one was to set down of what *Demos* he was, together with the name of his Father. Now as for the women, they were not wont to be entred into any tribe, till the time when they came to be Married, and that in the month of *Gamelion*, whereas the men were entred into the Month of *Pyanepsion*.

C A P.

## C A P. XIV.

*Alimenta parentibus & alumniis præbenda.*

When the Father came to age, or necessity, if the Son refused to support him (unlesse he were a *nothus*, or had not been bred up to a calling) he might be served with a Write ἢ κακώσας τὰς γονέων; and if he were convicted, his punishment was to be excommunicated all Society, both Sacred and civill, and to be fined a mulct besides. This maintenance and succour, he was bound by a Law of *Solons* making, to afford not only to his Parents, but to any friend esse, to whom he owed his education: and thence it was called τὰ ἀρεσθῆα, and ἀρεσθήρια, or ἔρῃα, in Latine *Alimenta*. This debt they reckoned themselves so strongly engaged to pay, that they abominated, deprecated, and grieved for nothing so much, as to dye before it was paid, according to that in the Poet, *Iliad* d.

— εἰ δὲ πῶς

ὄρεσθ' ἔργοις ἀπὸδοκᾷ μινυδάδῃ δὲ δι' αἶαν

Ἐπ' αὖτ' — rendered by *Val. Flaccus* thus.

A L C.

— nec reddita charo

*Nutrimenta patri brevibus præparans in annis.*

Inomuch that the Parent might very well say to his children, *Non est beneficium, quod pascitur; sed facinus, quod negatur.*

And indeed I must needs say thus much for them, I have found them for the most part, very carefull to keep out of debt in this kind, and very tender hearted to their Parents, as may be gathered by this one practice of theirs in use among them, viz. If a Father had been any time abroad: when he came home againe, the Daughter themselves, presently fell to washing his feet, and anointed them with oyle, ὡς ἐταμέλιον περὶ πατέρας καὶ περὶ νέοντας saith the Scholiast, inso-

b *Quintil.*  
decl. 6.

a In *Aristoph.*  
Vesp.

much that *Euphron*. (saith he) thought that *Homer* had used the Epithete.

Epithete *Διπαι* for the feet, in allusion to this anointing. (it may be) they used to kisse them too (as *see* did the feet of our Saviour) for so saith he of his Daughter in *Aristophanes*.

— *ὅς περ τὰ ἢ ἡ θυγάτηρ*

*Ἀπονεύει, καὶ τὸν πόδι' ἀλείφει καὶ περὶ ὤμους φιλεῖ.*

For the Children thus to maintain their Parents out of an *Antipater*, and to feed the old ones like the birds, it was commonly termed in one word *υποβοσκναι*, and so *Medea* uses the word to her children at parting.

— *εἶπον ἐλπίδας*

*Πολλὰς ἐν ὑμῖν υποβοσκνῆσεν τ' ἐμὰ.*

Next to the charges of maintaining the parent when he is old, are those of burying him, when he is dead; and those to be borne by the Sonne too. And therefore *Admetus* running out upon his father, for not offering to lay downe that life in his roome, which being then very old, he must shortly leave in his owne; *Well* (saies he) *I am so be reckoned but a dead man, and you for your part, are not like to have any more sons now.*

*ὁ γὰρ υποβοσκήσεται καὶ θανόντα σὺ*

*Περὶ ἐλπίδι, καὶ σπέρματι τὰ νεκρὰ.*

That will you feed, and shrowd your head,  
And Lay you forth when you are dead.

And now that we have brought the man so neere his end: we will shew him what course he is to take for the disposing of his estate, only because if he should have no children at all, or none such as they should be, there might be a doubt what to doe; I will speak a word of that first.

### C A P. XV.

*De adoptione, testamento, & hereditate.*

**I**F a man had either no child at all, or none that was *υἱοεις*, free borne: he had power \* to adopt him *α νοσην* or,

\* *Isa. de Aristarch.*

or any one else. And this was to be done after the manner of a Will, sign'd and seal'd in the presence of the Magistrate, as their Wills were wont to be. Whosoever was thus adopted, must be first made free of the City, and then be ascrib'd into the Tribe (or fraternity) of him that adopted him. But this last was to be done upon the feast of *Θαργήλια* in the month of *Thargelion*, and not at the ordinary time. Having thus left his old Tribe (which they were not bound to doe among the Romans) he was not to returne to it againe, 'till he had begotten a child in the new. As for the mans estate it pass'd to another either *κατὰ γένος* by descent, or *κατὰ δαδνέω*, by virtue of a will. Now by *Solons* laws (for before, their estate could not be convey'd but to those of the kindred) a man might make any body his heire, of any estate that he had which was not in controversy: but with these six qualifications. First he himselfe must be no Foole nor Mad-man, 2 No prisoner, so as to make his will against his will: for then it could be no will. 3 No stranger, for then his estate went to the common treasure. 4 No adopted man, for such a ones estate (if he wanted a child, was to passe to the \* next of the Adopters kindred) 5 Not perswaded thereunto by his Wife: for such a one (saies my \* author) *μικρα γὰρ ἐστὶν δαδνέω*, is little better then a mad-man. 6 Not having a male child of his owne; for then the inheritance should goe to him. And if there were more Males then one, they were to be *ισομνηστῆς*, copartners, or joynetenants. But in case he had no male child at all, and dyed without a Will, the estate fell to the next Male of the Kindred. If he had but one Daughter in all, or if the Sons that he had, were not *γνήσιοι*, free borne and legitimate: the Daughter was to be *ἐμπλῆνης*, or *εὐνοκλῆνης*, sole heire. And therefore he in *Aristophanis Avibus*, told *Hercules*, *minerva* could not possibly be *ἐμπλῆνης* to *Jupiter*, if *Mars* and *Vulcan* were his legitimate sons:

— *πῶς αὖ πότνη*

*Ἐμπλῆνης εἶναι τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ δαδνῆς.*

G g

Οὐ σὺν

*Demost.*

\* *Demost. ad Leochar.*

\* *Id cont. Olympiodorum.*

ὅταν θυγάτηρ ὄντων ἀδελφῶν γινώσκων.

I say this Daughter was the heire, and the next of the kin was to marry her; or the next of kin who was to marry her, became the heire by the marriage. A Woman or a Boy, if they made a Will, could not goe beyond μέθιμονον κεισθῶν, six bushells, ( they say it is ) or the value of such a measure of bushells, ( to whom the estate did passe, by what way soever it were, was forthwith to make his claime to it before the Pretor: which thing they called κατὸν \* καλῆρον, or ἐπὶ σὺν ταύτῃ τῷ κλήρῳ. And if any one would διαμαρτυρεῖσθαι, lay in any thing to defeat the claime, he was to prosecute his title. And now the man hath made his will, the next care he has is how to beburied when he dies: I shall therefore endeavour to shew him how to have that done too in the amplest manner, only, first, I will satisfy him of the necessity of having a buriall.

## C A P. XVI.

De necessitate sepulture.

I Remember Cicero in his *Topicks*, divides justice into three kinds, *unam ad superos, alteram ad manes, tertiam ad homines pertinentem* of the second kind of justice *vis to the dead*, I doe find every where among the ancients so religious a care; and such a sacred esteeme of a buriall; that Sepulchers were call'd *templa*, and the rite- of a funerall acknowledged and call'd to be *τὰ νόμιμα* by the Greeks, as well as *justa* by the latins. In- so much that the *Athenians* had a Law, that if any one happen'd but by chance, upon the carcase of another, who soever it were: he should be bound to cast earth upon it, three times together, and give it a mouthfull of Turie,

— \* *Capiti inhumato*

*Particulam dare* —

The Romans (it seems by *Quintilian Declam. 5.*) observed this

Isaus de Ari-  
starch.

Demsst contr.  
Stephan.

Actian. Var.  
Hist. l. 5. c. 14.  
a Horace l. 1.  
Od. 28.

this custome exceeding well, for (saies he) *Ignosis Cadaveribus humum congerimus & insepulchum quodlibet corpus nulla festinatio tam rapida transcurrit, ut non quantuloqu岸, veneretur aggestu*. And if any one omitted the duty he must make satisfaction by sacrificing a Sow: pig: *porcam \* pracidaneam* (as they call'd it) to *Ceres*. But the *Scholias*t upon *Sophocles* in *Anti-* gone goes farther: *ὁτι τὸν ὄντων πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ θάνατον αὐτοὺς ὄντων ἐπαγχεῖν ἐβόλευν*. Whosoever saw a dead body, and did not turne up the dust upon it, was not only a breaker of the Law, but *ἁγῶς*, a *scelus*, an *accursed devoted fellow, anathema, acer* (for what should the body doe any longer in the aire, which it is not able to draw?) and therefore they accounted τὸ ἀπαμειβασθῆνα, saies the *Scholias*t upon \* *Euripides*, and ποῦσταχθεῖς διὸς καὶ ἰλασθεῖν, very much feared that the gods under ground, would be angry, if any belonging to them were a bove ground. No greater imprecation to an enemy amongst them, then ἐκπλήξω χθονός, that he might not be covered with the earth. Me thinks I see \* *Hector* upon his knees to *Achilles*, as he was ready to stabbe him; and \* *Ajax* in his prayers to *Jupiter* (before he fell upon his sword) earnestly beseeching them not to suffer their bodies, when their soules were removed, to be left behind in the lurch to be meat for the dogges and the birds. Hence surely it was; that the ancients stood so much in feare of a death upon the Sea: or a shipwrack; because of death: for there they could never be interred.

*Demise naufragium. & mors mihi munus eris.*

Saies *Ovid*. In so much that when they went to Sea, or at least when they feared to be cast away. ( as we call it, for there if the Soule be gone, we have lost the body too) their custome was to fasten to one part or other of their bodies, a reward for him that should find it, and bury it, if it were cast a shore. ἀρεῖν δὲ τιμὴν ὁτιοῦν πρὸς ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐστὶν τιμὴν καὶ ἀρετὴν νόμος ἀδελφείας ἀδελφῶν, καὶ ἡγχι καθεῖν τιμὴν ὑποτάσσας τῷ χειροκλήτῳ πολλὰ καλὰ φωνῶν; Saies *Synepsius* in one

b Festus c. 14.

\* In Helen.

\* H. mer.

\* Sophoc.



236 *Archæologia* *Antiquities*  
 one of his Epistles. Mor. over not only if a corps were not buried at all; but if it were not buried as soone as possibly it could, it was counted *μεινὰ π τῷ νεκρῷ*, as if they had offended the *manes*; whereas on the contrary, if it were done without delay, they thought it *μεταγυῖα π τῷ νεκρῷ*, that they had done them a pleasure. You have those two words used by the Scholiast, upon the saying of *Homer. Iliad 7.*  
*οὐ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἔστιν ἡμετέροισιν ἀνέχθαι.*

—ἐπειδὴ ἔχοντι πύρεθς κατὰ τὴν ὥραν.

*Petroclius* is said to have been angry with *Achilles* for such a delay; and how true it is which one saies, that the bodies were kept fourteen daies, and fourteen nights, before they were buried, I do not yet find.

C A P. XVII.

*De ter vocanda animâ, & de Cenotaphiis.*

**B**UT next to the happynesse of being buried, was that of being buried in their own Country. Insomuch that if a Man died so farre from home, that they could not come to the body; they were wont with solemne and frequent invocations, naming him thrice at every time, *ἐννοησάμενοι τὸν ψυχήν* -- *manes per voce vocare* (as I may say) *so give a hollow thought* -- that they thought was still quick enough to

for the Soule: which they thought was still quick enough to  
cometo them: <sup>a</sup>Pindar saies: that *Phrixus*, when he was a dying  
at *Cholchis*, desir'd *Pelias* to see this office perform'd for him

Ψυχὰν' κομίξαι φρίξθ' —

And so *Ulysses*, after he had lost three score and twelve of his company among the *Cicones*, presently made it his business  
(saies *Homer*) — *ἦλθε δ' ἄλλους* to give a hoop for  
the *ἄλλους* *ἑπτά* *κοῖνας* of *Helen*, *τοῖς δ' ὕβαν*

—Hylam nauta quo fonte relictum.

Clameffentur litua Hyla, Hyla, omne Sonaret.

**Doubt-**

Doubleſſe they would have been glad, to believe their bodies alſo might be rolled under ground; into their native Country, as ſome of the *Jewes* doe think theirs ſhall into the land of *Canaan*. And yet a great many of them knew, that if they cry'd their hearts out to the Soules themſelves, it could be to little purpoſe. For as I remember, one in *Ariſtophanus* ſaies concerning the dead,

Οἱ δὲ πρὸς λέγοντες ἠξικνύμεθα.

They are gone so farre, (ὄχι οὐκ ὄχι οὐκ ὄχι) to goe is used also for to  
die, we say a man is dead, and gone (that you cannot reach them  
at thrice calling.

But must this be all? can there be no way else to honour the man, unless you can finger the carcase? yes, he shall be kept safe in Grave and a Monument, though he never be buried. Such a monument they called *κενοτάφιος*: and to bury a man thus in effigie (as I may say) *κενοτάφει*, as in \* Euripides.

\*Helen v.  
1862.

The Scholiast upon the Same Poet in *Hecuba*, gives a full testimony of the custom, saying that, *ἑτάφεντο οἱ Ἕλληες τῇ εὐκλείῃ τὰ κατορθώματα, καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ τῇ γῇ ταφέντι, καὶ οὐ κατὰ τὸν τόπον εἰς τὸ ζῆν ἐμύνηντο, though the body were buried in another Country, to keep his memory above ground, they would bury his grave. Nonnus calls this Cenotaphium Κενότοπος, from κενός or Sepulcher. Such a thing as this *Aeneas* made for his Father. ———<sup>b</sup> *Tumulus* Rheteo in *Lycenia* in *Agamemnon*.*

Constitu —

<sup>c</sup> *Progne for Philomela.*

b Virg *Æn.* 6.  
c Ovid, *l.* 6.  
fab. 8.

--- & inane Sepulchrum

**Constituit** — — —

*Constituit* ——— The Pythagoreans for those  
*qui à Philosophiâ suâ descivissent;* (accounting them as bad as  
 departed out of the life, that had departed from the principles)  
 The Athenians for all those that dyed upon the Sea.

Ὡς ὃ θανόντα σ' ἐνθάδ' ἔον κενώτατον.

② 404—

O' for—sues the Poet concerning *Helena's*  
 husband, tis worth your labour to read the story, what a  
 pudder the Woman kept about putting a suit of clothes in a  
 G g 3 beere.

**G g 3**

beere; as if his body were there; and bedecking it with flowers, and carrying it out into the Sea to drowne it. If it may not be grievous. I will produce the words which passed betwixt *Theoclymenus* and *Helen* concerning the custome.

*Theoc.* Τὴς δ' ἔς Σούρτων τύμβῳ, ἢ δ' ἄλεις σκιδῶ;

*Hel.* Ἐλάνθια ἔστ' ὅμῳ, ἔς αὖ πόρτῳ δάτην

*Theoc.* Τὶ δ' ἔσ', ποδοὶ τοὶ πλάνθου τὰ τοῖ δάδῃ

*Hel.* Κανοῖσι δ' ἄλλῃεν ἐν πάλτοις ὑφαίνουσιν..

If a man died fighting in the field, and his body could not be found, he was honour'd with the carriage of an empty beere in pompe, and a buriall, in the *Ceramicus*, with Pillers and Epitaphs in the stateliest manner that might be. For with this provision for his buriall, he in \* *Aristophanes* comforted himselfe and his friend ὁ Κεραμικὸς Νέστωρ; what need I say more of this? It was a common thing every where as \* *Ovid* saies.

*Et sapo in tumulis sine corpore momina legi.*

## CAP. XVIII.

*De mortui mutilatione, & iis quæ in homicidiis fieri solebant.*

THE customes used in *Athens* upon the dead body, were different, according to the different waies by which he came to his end. viz. Violent, and Naturall. And first of the customes used in a violent death. If the man had killd himselfe (αὐτοκτεν) they cut off the hand with which he did it and buried it in a place apart from the rest of the body. So saies *Æt. Rhodiginus*, but I know not who told him so. In dying (or falling down) Men and Women. but especially the Women, were exceeding carefull, that they might not discover any thing that was not to be seen, but *εὐχρηστος* as *Æt. Rhodiginus* saies of *Polyxena*. If another killed a man: he that killed him, if he thought that he had done it justly and in a good cause, though he washed his hands after it (as they would doe after killing any other Creature) yet he used to take

take the sword that he did it with, and hold it up towards the Sun with the blood on it, *συμβάλον τὴ διχαίῃς πικρὸν κλέψαι*, (saies the scoliast upon *Euripides* in *Orestes*) to shew that he fear'd not if heaven were witnesse, and all the World knew of the fact. If he had done it unjustly: instead of showing the blood he wip'd it off in the haire of the party slaine. *ἀπὸ σπουδίζουσιν* τὸ μύσος ἐν τῷ φόνῳ (saies the scoliast upon *Sophocles* in *Electra*) *averruncare*, to abominate, and wipe away the abomination of the fact. But if it were *ἐμπύλιον*, and *συγγενὲς* οὐρῶν (as he saies) i.e. If the party were one of his owne Tribe or kindred: he could never wipe it so cleane, but some would stick. And therefore fearing it would draw the Furies to revenge it, they provided. Amulets and spells to keep them off. And what better thing then a part of the body it selfe? for having that in their power as a hostage, to doe what they would with it, the Ghost of the party would not offer to meddle with them, or else would spare the bearer, for love of the carriage. And therefore as soone as they had slaine him they cut off all the extreme or outmost parts of the outmost members; and sewing them, or tying them together, wore them under their arme-pits. The extremities thus used they called *ἀκρωτήρια*, and so to use the body *ἀκρωτηρίζειν* so as they call'd it likewise, if they did but cut the topps of the eares, when a man had committed a fault, saies the *Etymologicall Dictionary*: which may more properly be called *λοφῶδες*, from *λοφός* the lap of the eare. Though that word, & *λοφάινειν*, be also used for as bad usage as *ἀκρωτηρίζειν*; unless you will say this was properly said to be done, when they kill'd the party quite. Those *ἀκρωτήρια*, are sometimes call'd *ἀσάγγματα* or *ἐσάγγματα*, as in \* *Apollonius*, where he speaks of *Abysrus* his L. 4. being thus used by his sister *Medea*.

*ἦν δ' Ἀπολλωνίου ἐσάγγματα τιμὴν δαίνοντος.*

\* *Ἦ δέ μιν ἀσάγγων δακρυκτασίας ἰδὲ ἀσάγγων.*

And sometimes *μαχαλιόματα*, from *μαχαλίζειν*, the same that *ἀκρωτηρίζειν*: because oftentimes they hung those pieces of the body

*Soph. in Electra.*

\* In Avibus.

\* L. 11. fab. 10.

ἢ μαχαίρῃς to their armeholes. of which *Sophocles* speaks thus

\* ὅς τις θανάτῳ ἀτιμῶς ὥςτε ἀντιμενῆς

\* *μυζομένη*.

But if he had killd the man by trechery, he hung those pieces about his neck, and taking some of the blood, spit three times in his mouth. This fashion of mutilating, or *Laceration* as they call'd it, and cutting of pieces from the Noses, and the eares, and the hands, and the feet, was in use likewise among the Romans: not only upon men slaine, (as *Quintilian* saies, *truncas partibus suis umbrat*) but when they did not kill them outright: according to that in *Virgil* *Æn.* 6.

*Atq; hic Priamidem laniatum corpore toto.*

*Deiphobum vidi lacerum crudeliter ora,*

*Ora, manusq; ambas, populataq; tempora raptis*

*Auribus, & truncas inhonesto vulnere naves.*

C. 1. v. 7.

That practice of *Adonibezek*, which we read of in the book of *Judges*, in cutting the fingers and toes of the Kings, may well be called *ocroteriasmus*, as this was.

The usuall punishments to be suffered by him that had kill'd another were these. If he had done it unwillingly, he must fly his own Country, and get into another, (as the Israelites were to fly to the *Cities of refuge*) Being there, he must betake himselfe (saith the \* *Scholiast*) εἰς τινος οἶκον ἀνδρός πλούτου, into some great mans house that was able to protect him (for reject him he might not comming as an *importuner*, or *Petitioner*,) & there set him cover'd by the hearth (a place which they counted holy) καὶ ἀποτίων δάμνησθαι, to expiate the fact, and purge himselfe of the pollution. If the party were one of his own Tribe or Kindred, he must tarry out of his Countrey a whole year at the \* least. *Enstathius* saies anciently they suffer'd them sometimes, to redeem their liberty with a fine of two Talents of gold. But afterward, it seems to have been otherwise: Insomuch that a Murderer was not only forbid χερσὶς αἵματι, or ἰσθμὸν κτείνειν, to perccipitate in their Sacrifices himselfe. But every body else (of his owne Countrey) was forbid to receive him into his house. Nay they

*Joshua* c. 10.  
\* On *Homer*  
*Il.* O.

\* *Schol* in *Eu-*  
*rip Hippol.*  
a lib. 18.

they might not be allowed to speak to him: as thinking him ἀνόσιον καὶ ἐνανεον, so unholy a thing, as that he might not have the name of a Man, as *Euripides* saies ἐν δ' ἀνδρὶ οὐτὸν καλῶ. The *Scholiast* upon \* *Homer*, out of *Callimachus*, saies, that among the *Thessali*, they used to drag him about the grave, where the party was buried whom he had slaine; as *Enrydamus* did *Simon* for killing his brother *Thrasynus*.

## CAP. XIX.

*De claudendis oculis, pulsandis aneis vasis,*  
& amiccendo corpore.

IT was the custome among the Greekes, as well as among the Jewes and the Romanes, when a man was a dying, or his Sunne was a setting as they used to say—ἀλιον ἄμμι δὲ—*Theoc.* δύνειν) to have his eyes closed by the Parents, or the next of the kindred: and they call'd it ἐγγυλλεῖν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ. The performing of this ceremony by the Kindred, was so much valued, that it was bewaild as a very great unhappinesse, to dye in such a place where a mans friends could not be present to doe it: as *Ulysses* saies

— ἐπεὶ σὶ γὰρ πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μνηστῆρ

Ὅπως καὶ θάμνησεν δαμόντι—

If a man died suddainly: δαμένειν (saies the \* *Scholiast* upon *Homer*) it was attributed to *Apollo*: if a Woman to *Diana*. I know not whether I may here venture to tell you, from an old *Scholiast* upon *Theocritus*, that just at the time of death, they had a custome likewise to make a great ringing with vessels of brasse (*Bells*, some render it) to fright away the Hobboblins, and Furies from the Soule. For such a kind of sound (he saies) is καὶ ἀγρός καὶ ἀπαισιός καὶ ἡμικραδέν of a speciall virtue for such effects. But else I should rather imagine it to have been done for the same end, that a Roman Conclamation was, viz, to try whether the party were but

H h

dead

dead a sleepe (not dead and gone) and so to awake him with the noyce: as they were wont to doe to the Moone in an Eclipse, when they thought her a sleepe. The eyes being cover'd with the lids; the face was next cover'd with a cloth: and that by the next of the Kin too; for *Hippolytus* as he lay a dying, thus calls to his Father to doe it.

Eur. H. ppon.  
b. 148.

Κρύψον δέ μιν περιπαύων ὡς παῖδες πένθους  
And indeed the whole businesse of stretching out and shrowding the body, belong'd especially to the next of the Kin. And therefore *Cassandra*, in *Euripides*, endeavouring to prove the condition of the *Trojans* to be better then that of the Greeks that besieged them, saies, that they, having the hapinesse to dye at home among their friends and kindred were

χρῆσιν περικλυμένους τῶν ἐγγείων ὧν  
Shrowded by whom they ought their Kin. If a Father or a Mother dyed a Widow: the Childre did it. And so *Medea* tells her children, she had once hopes it should have been done by them to herselfe.

Eur. Med. v.  
1035.

Καὶ Κατθανόντων χρῆσιν δὲ περικλυμέν.  
If a Husband dyed: the Wife did it. Which hapinesse the Greek Souldiers could not attaine, if they dy'd at Troy.

— ἢ δαυαρτὸ ἐν χρεσίν

Troam v. 277.

Πένθοις συνεσάλησαν.  
If a brother; the Sister. Which made *Orestes* when he was to suffer death among the *Scythians*, a great way of from his home, cry out so pittifully,

Φῶ. πῶς αὖν ἐμελεφῶς χεῖρ' ἀπειλείς με αὖν.

Alack! how shall my Sister shrow'd me now!

## CAP. XX.

De offa Cerberi, & Nanno Charontis

Id Iphig. in:  
Taur.

THE body being dead, began from thence to be *Sacrum* aIn via numæ. Sacred those that are dead are called *iesgi* by *Plutarch*, and the

the graves themselves ἀγνά ἡλια by *Lycophon*, as soone as the body was in. Sacred I say, that is not to be injur'd, farre enough from holy, insomuch that if a man had but toucht it, νεκρὸν ὄντων χρεσίν, (as you have read it already) he could not meddle with any holy thing after, till he had wash'd, as *πυγμαῖ* as a Jew. Toucht did I say; when *Hippolytus* lay a dying *Diana* would not so much as stay to see him dead, for feare of pollution.

Καὶ χεῖρ ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐθέλεισθαι πρὸς τὸν νεκρὸν,  
Οὐδ' ὅμματα χαλκίνοι θανάσι μοι σὺν ἐκπαύσειν.

Eur. Hipp. v.  
1437.

The same may be said of the graves. *Δυσσήμερο πάρος*, saies *Hesiod*; for ἀγνά they were not, but only in this fence, that they were ἀκίνητα, not to be medled with as some would have it to be meant by that of the same Poet

Μὴ δ' ἐπ' ἀκινήσεισι ἐσθίειν —

Insomuch that *Plutarch* in his *Rom. Quest.* saies, that those men, that out of Pride would make their burying place, and provide the funerall pompe, before they dy'd, were not fit to beare the name of ἀγνοὶ themselves. The whole performance of the ceremonies used to prepare the body for the buriall, was called (saies the *Scholiast* upon *Aeschylus*) Συγκομιδή: as the elation or carrying forth, was called ἐκκομιδή. The ceremonies were these. First they took a piece of mony above a halfe-peny ('twas dearer there then at Rome) and put it into his mouth to speake his fare to the πορθυνίς, or Ferriman *Charon*. the piece of mony was called by the name of δαρδηνή, because it was given πῆς δαρδυνίς: which signifies the dead, from δαρδύς dry, because of their dry bones. I remember the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* in *Ranis*, (where *Charon* bid the man to waite.

— ὧς δ' Ἀδάνη λίθον (saies that there was a stone which the Poets fain'd to be ἐν ᾧ δα, in the place of the dead, call'd by the name of *Ananus* ὧς δα τῶ αὐτῶς καὶ νεκρὸς ἐστί), because the bodies of the dead must needs be as dry as dust.

Together with the mony, they threw in a morsell of pudding

ding or past, or Cheese, to give to *Cerberus* to stop his wide mouth, when he had bit him to death already. It was usually made of flower temper'd with hony (so good for a dog) and therefore called more peculiarly *μελιτή στα*. and *μελιτή* μελιτηνή ἐσθλοιοτικὴ νεκρῆς ὡς ἡς & *Κέρβερον*, saies *Suidas*. such a kind of thing *Aeneas* is said to have given him, when he visited the dead.

*Melle Saporatam, & medicatis frugibus offam*

*Objicit.*

*Apuleius* speaks of more pieces then one: *offas potentes multas concretas*, and saies, they were to carry a piece in each hand. The Poet in \* *Lusistrata* us'd it but in the singular number

— πορὶν ὀρίσει

Μελιτήν ἢ ἐν ἑνὶ καὶ δὴ μάλιστα.

It may be the same Poet alluded to this custome in those words of his in pace.

ἕτ' ἀλγίτ' ὅτε τυρὸν ὡς ἀπολλύμεν &c.

## CAP. XXI.

*De Ablutione mortuorum, Polliniflora, & amiculo ferali.*

IF the party deceased were free of the City, the *καταγυνή* (you may render it *Polliniflores*) took out his bowells, and with heated water, which they put in a *Labrum* kept in a Temple for the purpose, washed the body: as those \* did the body of *Tabitha* before they laid her in the upper room. This *ἀντρα παύσαται* (as *Electra* call'd it in the Poet) was a thing accounted so necessary, that *Socrates* (as it is in \* *Plato*) when he intended to drink his owne death in a health, thought it best to set about it himselfe afore hand, and save the Women a labour: \* *Ὡς ἐπαπιδὼν ὁρῶς το λοῦσθον, δεκῆ γὰρ ἡ δὴ βέλτιον εἶναι λουόμενον πρὶν τὸ ἐσθρακον, καὶ μὴ ἀνδρα γὰρ ζυγασθῆναι παρὲς, καὶ νεκρὸν λούειν.* Which puts me in mind of the like practice of *Alceste*, when she intended to dye for her Husband. Saies the Poet

Poet. *Ἦντι γὰρ ἡδὲ δ' ἡμέραν ἤ κωλειαν*  
*"Ἡννομεν, ὅδ' αὖτις ποταμοῖς ἰδοκὸν ἡγία*  
*"Ελίσσαι"*

b *Eurip. Alc.*  
 v. 116.

When she perceiv'd the day appointed neere,  
 She wash'd her selfe in river water cleere.

In allusion to this custome \* *Iphigenia* in her dreame, fell a washing one of the pillars of the ruined house, which she fancied to see.

"Ἰφίγειον αὐτὸν ὡς θανάμενον.

Interpreting the Pillar for a Sonne, and concluding the death of that Soone by the washing of the pillar. To this washing, (it may be,) alludes that expression of *Strepshades* to his sonne in *Aristophanis nubibus*

"Ὡς περ τεθιεῖτος καταλῦει με τὴν βίον.

He casteth aspersions upon my life, & washeth me as if I were dead. This worke was indeed proper to the Women; but in case of necessity others might serve. And therefore in \* *Galen* you c *De Method.* shall find the *Cynicks* themselves a washing poore *Theagenes*, *Medendi*. l. 1. because he had neither Wife, nor Child, nor chick of his own to doe it. Having washed the body, they annointed it with ointments, and poured *Ambrosia* upon his head and his face, as *Homer* saies, *Jupiter* bid them doe to *Sarpedon*,

Χρίσαντ' ἄμβροσιν—

Il. 11.

Having done this, they wrap'd the body in a fine garment, woven (it may be) long before by his Wife, or some other friend for the purpose: having also τὰς καρπύς, bands or lifts of cloth, to tye the hands and the feet withall, such as \* *La-* \* *John*. c. 11, *zarius* had. *Feralibus amiculo obstrictus*, saies \* *Apuleius*. The colour of the shrowd (if my memory faile not) was white among the Grecians, but black with the Latines.

H 3.

CAP.

En 6.  
 Metam. l. 6,

\* *Aristophan.*

\* *Ad* c. 9. v.

57.

*Eurip.* v. 157.

*Electra.*

a In *Phedone*.

*Homer. Odys.*

1.

of cloth, to tye the hands and the feet withall, such as \* *La-*

\* *John*. c. 11,

*zarius* had. *Feralibus amiculo obstrictus*, saies \* *Apuleius*. The

colour of the shrowd (if my memory faile not) was white

among the Grecians, but black with the Latines.

## CAP. XXII.

*De ablutione à Mortuis. De coronis, quibus corpora ornabantur.  
de l'Ho, & de collocatione.*

HAVING thus cloth'd him with his Windings-sheet, and this πῶλον: next they trim'd him with Garlands, ἐσθλὸν τῆς νεκρῆς ὁ δὲ τανὺς, ὡς τὸν βίον διγωνισμένους, saies *Suidas* as they would doe to one that had runne out his race, or fought it out: & with the like signification, I have thought they put the cake in his mouth, for the same reason: for cakes were given for rewards, as well as Garlands. In allusion to these Garlands, *Eustathius*, when the Father was lamenting the death of his Sonne, makes him say, πῶς σὺ κλέσσεσθαι σὺ τῆς δακρυῶν, how shall I crown thee with my teares? an example of this practice, you may see in *Euripides*: where *Talthybius* speaks to *Hecuba* to doe it to *Astyanax*, in the absence of his Mother, thus.

— πῶς τοι σὺ περὶ τῆς νεκρῆς  
Σπῆνοίς δ' ὅτι τοι δύναιμι, ὡς ἔχει τὰ πό.

After they had done this they set him on the ground, with his feet outward toward the gate: as being never to put his foot in the house againe. Then they tooke him and put him into a couch or a bed (τὸ λέκτρον) to be in a readinesse to be carried to his bed, for so *Lycophron* calls the grave δυνάστιον, as it is likewise term'd κοιμητήριον, and so the dead are called κοιμητῆς, and κλισιακοὶ υμνῆται, for death is a long sleep, as sleepe is a short death. The couch was also adorn'd with Garlands made of all sorts of Hearbs and flowers, (as \* *Euripides* saies) ὅσα χθονὶ χαλὰ ἔσθλ' ἑλασέματ', but especially of Olive, which they used in victories: having thus adorned it, they plac'd it, or set it forth at the doores as *Potroclus* in *Homer* was.

— ἀνὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν τεταμμένον.  
This placing of him they called σενήδωκεν, collocare, Laying forth (as we call it) as it is in *Alcestis*.

L. 10. Ism.

Eur. Troam.

v. 1143.

Artem L. 1. c.

14.

\* In Hel.

— ὡς σενήδωκεν.

\* Eurip.

During the σενήδωκεν, and all the time till the ἐκταρῶ (as they call'd it) till the body was carried forth, efforebatur, ἐξεκομίζετο, as St. *Luke* saith, (whether out of the house or the City) there stood at the dore, a great earthen vessell filled with water, which they fetcht from another house, for the people to wash in, that came in and out. This vessell is called by *Hesychius* γάρφα, by *Pollux* ἄρδανον, and by *Aristophanes* ὄρεσκον, in that \* place where he speaks of the λίμναι too, that is the Pots for oynments wherewith they annointed the body, as likewise of strewing of *Origanum* (they say it is for good hearts *origanum heri*) and of Vine-branches, for what use I know not, unlesse it were to lay the Corps upon in the time of annointing, or else to make the Torch of them, for of such stufte Torch were commonly made: as *Eustathius* saies ὁ φανὸς was ἡ ἐκ κληματῶν λαμπάς. And so our Poet in *Lysistrata* calls it τὸ ἀμπέλου φανόν: pray take his owne words, for the great pot of Water, the lesser pots of ointment, and the Vine-branches together.

Ἵπποδρόμου νυκτὶ σενήδωκεν τὸν ὄρεσκον

Καὶ κλημάδ', ὡπότες συγχλασσοῦν τετάρτα

Κε ταμῖναι καὶ ἀμπέλου τὰς ἀμύδας

Ἵπποδρόμος τὰ κατὰ τὸν τετάρτον σενήδωκεν

Thus I remember in *Euripides* his Tragedy of *Alcestis* (verse 99) one makes a doubt whether the woman were indeed buried, as they said she was, because he could not see any Spring-water πηγαῖον χερνίβα (as he calls it, for such it should be) standing at the doore as the custome was.

The Washing it selfe was called λίσσιν ἀπὸ νεκρῶ, like the Israelites *עֲשֵׂה לְךָ אֲבָרָה*, which we read of in *Ecclesiasticus* cap. 34. v. 25. and in *Numbers* c. 19. v. 11. The Romans used *Suffitionem*, a perfuming of the house: for they thought the whole house polluted, where there lay but a dead body by the wall. And so did the Greekes too, as may appeare by those words of *Helena*, and the Poet,

Καὶ δὲ τὰ



## CAP. XXIV.

## De Ministerio Funerarium &amp; Sitticinium.

a See Jerem.  
c 9. v. 17.  
\* Il. Ω.

TO set forth the mourning with a better grace, as the Jews had <sup>אֲנָחַן</sup> and the Romans *Præfens*: so they also had their singing Women of purpose to lead the dance, <sup>αἰολισσῶν</sup>, or <sup>ὄρνυον ἐξ ἄρχῆς</sup>, as \* Homer calls them; or <sup>πνέουσαι</sup> *Nonnus*. And since vocall Musick might be allow'd, I marvel very much why *Admetus* upon the death of his Wife should be so strict against any Instrumentall, either with the Harpe or the pipe.

Eurip Alc. v.  
430.

<sup>ἄλκιμονος ἦν καὶ πρὸς αἶσαν, καὶ λυγρὸς καὶ παῖς</sup>  
<sup>ἔγω —</sup>

Especially considering the virtue supposed to be in it, of mounting up the Soule into the Heavens, the originall of all harmony according to that of *Macrobius*, *Mortuos quoq; ad sepulchrum prosequi oportere cum cantu plurimarum gentium vel regionis instituta sanxerunt persuasione hac, quia post corpus animæ ad originem dulcedinis musica, id est ad cælum redire credatur.* Indeed for the Harp, I have read, that they might not sing <sup>οὐδὲ</sup> *λῦον*, in such times of mourning, because it was an instrument consecrated to the service of *Apollo*, for *Pæan's*, and such mercurial songs (as the reason is given upon the Scholiast upon those words of the Poet in his *Phenissæ*, <sup>Ἀλυσὼν δὲ καὶ ὠδῶν.</sup>) But for the Pipe, I never knew but that they might sing <sup>οὐδὲ</sup> *αὐλόν*. for else why were there <sup>πυθαγῶναι</sup> *Pipers* among them? as there were *Sitticines* among the Romans.

As many as came to the Funerall, brought along with them <sup>ἄκρονον</sup>, one fine thing or other, to carry in their hands, or to put upon the coarfe; such as *Admetus* in *Euripides* denied his Father the liberty to give to his Wife, when all the company besides had given before.

<sup>κόσμον ἢ τὸν σὺν ἔπος ἢ δ' ἐδύσετο.</sup>

I have some cause to think that some of those <sup>κόσμοι</sup> which they carri'd, were the *Images* and the *Armes* of the family of the party deceased; (for such they were wont to have among the Romans) the more to honour the funerall. And if so, then those <sup>ἐν τέρειον ἀγῶνιστον</sup> \* (neere the place above quoted) said to be carried by those which followed the corps, \* 2b. de v. 612. may be translated *imagines*, as well as *grata munera*. Or if it must needs be *grata munera*, it must be meant to the gods of the dead, and not the dead themselves.

But yet after all this, you may doe well to take notice, of a great deale of difference in the Pompe, according to the age of the party deceased for such as had more age, had more honour then others. And therefore when *Death* told *Apollo* (as he was interceding for the life of *Alceste*) of a great deale more glory to be gotten by the death of the younger fort, he replyed, by no means; for

<sup>Καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ὀλίγω, πολλὸς τὰ φέσται.</sup>

If old she die she will be richly buried.

And here, because I have such an occasion given me before I goe any farther with the Corps, I will make bold to tattle a little more then I thought to have done, concerning the customes used in mourning at Funeralls, or any other time, and first of the cutting of the haire.

## CAP. XXV.

## De Capillis tondendis in Luctu.

THE Grecians upon any extraordinary occasion of sorrow and boldnesse (as the *Hebrews* say) used to cut their haire <sup>ἐν ῥοῇ</sup> (as they call'd it) or to shave it close to the skin. For so much may be gather'd by those words of *Lyfias* (cited by *Aristotle* in his \* *Rhetoricks*) which he had in his speech for the Corinthians that dyed in the fight with the

\* L 3. 6. 10.



Persians at Salamis. saies he. ἔξιστορ ἡν ἄν τῷ πάσῃ τοῖς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑλλάδος τοῖς ἐν Ἑλλάδι. It had bene no lesse then desert, if all Greece had bene shav'd at the buriall of those gallant souldiers that dyed at the fight of Salamis. If this suffice not, you may take the testimony of Euripides, who would have the whole Countrey of the Cyclopians to doe the like.

— ἔχει τοὺς Κυκλωπείας

Σιδουεῖν ἐν κρητὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγειν.

And he himselfe when he dyed (as *Solinus* reports) was mourn'd for after this manner, by no worse man then *Archelaus* the King of the *Macedons*. In reference to this custōie, *Strabo* speakes of a Towne in *Cappadocia* called *Comona*, from the mourning-haire, cut in that place by *Orestes* and *Iphigenia*. So you shall meet with the like practise of *Tellus* in the behalfe of *Phaeton*: and of *Bacchus* the god (as intonsus as he was) for the losse of his wife. Nay you shall find *Job* himselfe at this very worke upon the newes of his Childrens death. and in the Prophecy of \* *Jeremy* you may read Cut off thy haire, and cast it away, and take up a lamentation. Tis true, they were to be blamed for these follies, and in \* *Cicero* you shall meet with a saying of *Bion* himselfe, deriding the use of this custōme in *Agamemnon*, Perinde stultissimū Regē in luctu capillō sibi evellere, quasi calvitio maxor levaretur, as if he aggravated the former losse, of his friends, with another of his haire, what if it be objected to all this, (which we confesse to be true too) that it was a custōme to cut the haire in token of joy? For first among the Jewes, if you look into the Bible, you shall find *Joseph* cutting his haire, when he came out of Prison; and *Ionathans* Sonne, when he met with *David* for joy doing the like. nay that action of *Job* it selfe, is by *Origen* (the Allegoricall interpreter) thought to have been an expression not of Sorrow, but of a kind of joy. or a cheerefull patience under his affliction. 2ly Among the Romans, you know their squallid prisoners let their haire hang downe long, that they might looke the more dejected, and so move the Judges to pitty

\* C. 7. v. 29.

\* In Job. 2. 13.

pitty when they came to be try'd.

\* *Aspice demissos lugentis more capillos.*

\* Ovid. In. Epist.

Whereas after their absolution or release, they presently cut it. & therefore *Pliny* in one of his epistles interrets his dreame of the cutting off his haire, to be a token of his deliverance from some eminent danger. And last of all for your Greeks themselves, that they let their haire grow long in times of sadnesse, may appeare by that of *Lychophron*.

Κερατὸς δ' ἀκρεγὲς ἰώτα καλλυνοῦσ' ὀφει

Νυμφίου παλαιῶν τριμῶσ' ἰδομεναι.

And that they cut it in times of joy, will be out of question if we believe *Artemidorus*, who saies that ἐστὶ δὲ ὡς εἰσέρειν ἀπὸ τῆς χαρῆς καὶ τὴν χαρῆναι, the word for rejoycing comes frō the word which they use for cutting the haire. To reconcile these things, perhaps it may suffice to say, That cutting their haire shorter by way of a Κῆρυξ, or a trimming (as we call it) was a token of joy; but shaving it close, even to baldnesse, of sorrow and dejection as among the Jewes, weeping, and mourning, and baldnesse were joyn'd together. I know there are some, that thinke to reconcile all, by saying as *Plutarch* saies (in *Romancis*) τὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὅταν δυσχέρειαν ἴδῃ καὶ ἰσχυρῶς κομῶσιν ὅτι αὐτῶν, that That women expressed their sorrow by cutting their haire, & the Men by letting it grow. which may be likely enough, because in sorrow, people out of a dejected carelesnesse, love to appeare as unhandsome as may be, and contrary to the usuall fashion: now it was accounted a handsome thing, (and so it was the custome too) among the Greekes, for Women to weare their haire long, and the men to weare it short. but how is it then that in \* *Terence* there is mention made of a Woman in mourning with long haire?

In 22. v. 2.

\* In Heaut. Act. 2. 5. 1. 3.

*Capillus passus, prolixum, circum caput. Rejctum negligenter.*

II 3.

CAP.

## CAP. XXVI

## De ritu Legendi in funere.

When any disaster befell such as were neer of kin unto them, *ἐνθιμῶν*, &c. it being a time for sadness, they forbore to drink any Wine, (which hath a property to make men glad) and confined themselves to that which the Scholiast calls *ἀρίτων μυκάνα*, a *Barly-mash*, (Ale, it's like.) But sorrow must be more then negative: (negatives make an affirmative) and therefore, First, they used to tear their cloths & their haire, after the manner of the Hebrews, and some times to sing their vails in the fire, (not in healths, but in sobs and sighs) as it is in *Rhesus*.

*Κι σμυρνῶται μύκων πύλων χλιδῶ.*

2 To throw their faces in the dust, or the dust in their faces, as the Romans did after them.

*Pulvere canissem genitor, vulnusq; seniles.*

*Fadat humi fufos —*

Or sometimes ashes, as *Achilles* did, when he mourn'd for the death of *Patroclus*, and the *Argive* Women for the death of their Sonnes at the Leaguer of *Thebes*.

*— ἀμάρτ' ἤ σπιδόν*

*Κάρα κερχόμεθα: —*

3 *Κερχόμεθα* (which is us'd for *πινδῆν*) to beat their breasts & their thighs, and cut and tear their flesh like a Jew: as one saies

*\* ἀμβλυσσάτω χεῖρα παλόν.*

Making streakes and furrowes with their nailes in their face. (as \* *Euripides* uses the word *ἀλκαλίζειν*.)

*— οὐχὲν ἡλοκίσμεθ'*

4 To draine, and draw out at length, and repeat the interjection *ἔ, ἔ, ἔ*, and from hence (if we may believe the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*) comes the word *ἐλεγεῖν* to be any

*Eurip.*

*Ovid. Met. l. 8 fab. 9.*

*Eurip. Suppl. v. 826.*

\* *Smyrnaus.*

*β.*

\* *In Hel.*

*b In Avib.*

us'd for a song of lamentation *scilicet* *ὄντο τῷ λένει*.

But at a funerall, so immoderate were they (especially the Women) in these and the like expressions of sorrow, that *Solon* was faine to make this Law of purpose to restraine them, *Mulieres genas ne radunto, ne ve lessu funeris ergo habento, Let no Women &c.* Their customes they used at such times were these. First, when they came forth of the house (and not only at the grave) every one lop'd off a lock of his haire and it is noted by the \* *Tragedian* for a very ordinary practise, where he shewes how it could hardly be believed, that *Alcestis* was indeed buried, as they said she was, because neither the pot of Holy-water, nor so much as a lock of haire could be seene at the doore, as they were wont to be.

*Χαῖται τ' ἔτις ἐπὶ σπείδαται πύλῃ.*

*— ὅς, ἂν νεκρῶν πινδῶσι πύλῃ.*

2 As they went along with the corps they kept their heads close covered, and their faces: as other people doe. And therefore *Orestes*, when he bid *Electra* leave mourning, saies he

*— ἀνακάλυψ' ὃ κασίγνητορ χέρας*

*Ἐκ δακρύων τ' ἀπλῶς —*

Be uncover'd &c.

In like manner *Theseus* (as it is in another \* *Tragedy* of the same Poet) when *Adrastus* came to petition his helpe *καθήρης χλαμύδους*, all bemused and covered in the habit of a Mourner, said to him

*Λέγ' ἄνκαλυν' ἑαυτὰ καὶ παρὲν γέρον.*

They used likewise to lay their hands on their head, (as we doe our heads upon our hands.) So \* *Helen* saies of the Trojans

*Ἐπὶ δ' ἕσπετο χεῖρας ὀδυμένην.*

3 Their manner of going, was to tread as softly as they could with their feet, and make no noyce with their tongues (I mean the rest of the company, and not those which they got for the purpose to Weepe)

*Σέβα, Σέβα λεσπῶν ἔχοντο δρεβύλλης*

*Τιδῶπι, καὶ κλυπῶπι, καὶ εἰς κτύπον &c.*

Saies

\* *Eurip. Alc. v. 100.*

\* See *Eth. r. c. 6. v. 12.*

\* *J. rem. c. 14 v. 3.*

\* *In Suppl. v. 110.*

\* *Id. v. 376.*

\* L. 1. c. 21. v. 27  
\* 4. 3. 8. v. 15.

Saies the *Chorus*. In the book of \*Kings tis said that *Abah* lay in Sackcloth וְהָלַךְ אֶת-וִיחִלֵּךְ and went softly. and so \**Isaiah* saies I shall goe softly all my years in the bitterness of my soule אֲדַרְדֵּר though I know some translations render it otherwise.

4 When they come to the place of buriall (for I meane to end the Mourning first, and then to come to the rest) they would cut off all the best locks of their haire (πόκαμον or πόκαμον) and lay them on the grave, or cast them into the fire. And this they called πύθμιον κείν, and σενουαυτός τεύχης (as it is in *Aristophanes*) or τεμάχιον βότρυχας (as in *Aeschylus*) or κατέκρινον χλαδίω (as in *Sophocles*) or ἀπαρχάς τ' αἰώνας (as it is eve y where.) All their best Locks I said; for I remember how *Electra* in *Sophocles*, was very angry with *Helen* for dealing πανέργως deceitfully, and hiding the best of her haire to save it, at the buriall of *Clytemnestra*: for indeed ἐν τῷ κατ' ἀλλήλων θρηνούντας πάντα τ' πόκαμον τεμνύν, they should with it all, saith the Scholiast upon that Poet: who in another place has given a reason or too for the action, viz. First to make them seeme squallid, and carelesse, and contemptible; whereas locks \*ἀβρότητα καὶ χαλκωτισμὸν ἐμπαρθεύει, are used for ornament, and sprucenesse, as being περὶ τὸ καυκάλις (as I may say) the *Luxury of the haire*. Then tis known that the *Greekes were* χαριζομένους, & used to weare the haire long ἐμύροντες καὶ ἀλλήλους δὲ πείθεσθαι, saies the \*Scholiast, both to please their friends and to fright their enemies. Nay they took such a pride in having it so, (calling themselves \*Ακαρπῆνας, & such as cut it to short κερπῆτας) that κομᾶν, signifying to weare haire long, has been used to signify to be \*proud.

\* II. β.

\* II. γ.

2 ἵνα δὴ τότε πάντες ἱλεως αὐτῷ ὀνειδέσθῃ. To get the good will of the deceased party, and the *Manes*. Some againe say it was done by none but a Parent, or a Foster-father, or Mother, by way of thanks for their education, and so they cal'd it θρασύτητα ποιῆν, or ἀνταποδοῦναι τοῖς ἀναθράς. But why then should \**Hercules* doe it to *Softratus* he who was but his

*Ganymede*

\* *Pausan.*

*Ganymede* Last of all, during the whole time of Mourning for the dead (which *Lycurgus* confined to the space of cleaven daies) the Women were not to weare any \*Jewels, neither \**Lycephr.* was there to be fire or Candle light (which two at first were but one thing, viz. \*Wood for heat and light too.) λύχνος \**Id Suid.* in ἀσπί in πύθει δέ μῆμις, saith an old Glosse, and to this custome ἑρκεῖς & ἥσυχ in some doe referre that in the Satyrist.

*Pullati procures, &c.*

— tunc odimus ignem.

If the mourning were for a publick calamity, all the *palastra*, and *gymnasia*, must be shut up: together with the Baths and the Shops, and the temples themselves. But it is time to returne to the Corps, and see it buried as soone as I can for feare of giving offence (as I told you before)

*Hesych in*  
*Δαλδῆ,*  
*Juren. Sat. 3.*

## CAP. XXVII.

*De viâ per quam efferebatur corpus, & de loco sepulchræ.*

THE ordinary way by which the corps was carried was the gate called \*Ἡρίαια, so called because they led to the *ἡρά, the Graves*, or the Common place of buriall. This gate is sometimes called ἱερεῖ ὥλει, a *Sacra porta*, whether in op. a *Theoph.* position to the αἰὼλαι ἀπερρώδεις (in *Plutarch*) or the χαράνεις αἰών. π. *Anaiδ.* *an* (you may render it the *Gates of Hell*, in the Scripture \* I. *Pollux.* phrase, or *Scelerata porta* as the Romans doe) by which they drag'd the Malefactors; I am yet to seeke: for Malefactors were to suffer death without the Gates, as no others were to be buried within. It seemes they thought the dead by Law, and the dead by nature alike uncleane, and so took the like care to avoid the contagion of either.

The place of buriall in ancient times for a King or a Prince, was wont to be the foot of a hill, (to shew that he might not be a *Mountain* \* for ever) according to that in *Ly-* *cophon.* \* *Kings and Princes are so called in Script.* as *Isaiah. 41, 15, &c.*

K k

Τεωδῆς

\* *Æt. II.*

Τεῖονες δὲ ταρχύουσι Κεραφῶν νόττω

Or that of \* *Virgil.*— *fuit iugens Monte sub alto**Regis Derceni terreno ex aggero bustum.*\* *Lib de Orig. Gent. Rom.*

\* *Aurelius* saies of King *Aventinus Sylvius*, that he was *Sepultus circa radices Montis cui ex se nomen dedit.* unlessse you will say that those *Montes* were nothing but *that* in a larger size, which *tumuli* were in the diminutive: & so the hills must be made by the buryer as \* *Lucian* saies.

L 8.

*Et Regum cineres extructo monte quiescant.*

But for men of a lower ranke, 'till the daies of King *Cecrops*, it went to higher then a Pit or a Cave, according to that of *Theognis*

— *καὶ κείνου γαίης**βοῆς πολυκακῆτος ἐν ἰδῶο δούμῃς*

'Tis true that in after times there were two common Church-yards (as I may say) appointed for the purpose, called by the name of *οἱ κεραμεικῆ*, *Potters fields*, & *ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ ἔξω τῷ πόλει*, one within the Walls, and the other without *Aristophanes* in his *Rana*, calls them *τὰς ταφάς*, the *Burials* or the *Berryes*. That buriall place within (otherwise called *Δημόσιον σῆμα* by *Thucydides*) was for those that made an honorable end in the Field for the good of the *Common-wealth*: the manner whereof I shall mention perhaps in another place. The outer *Ceramicus* was distinguished into severall fields, and enclosures. And therefore we shall read, That sometimes close to the Gates, sometimes by the way sides, according to that of *Hesiod* in \* *Euripides*.

In *Rhes.* v. 880.— *νεκρὸς**ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς καλῆς ἐν ἀποφύμῃς ὡς ἐν ὁδοῖς.*

C A P.

## CAP. XXVIII.

*De Corporis crematione.*

NOW for the usage of the bodies: when they came to the place of buriall, saies the Scholiast upon *Homer*, *τὸ πάλαιον τὰ σώματα πιδυνομένων* ἄλλοτερον ἔργον διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆρας, *εἰς ἧς ἔταξεν ἡ φύσις* τὸ ἐπὶ γῆ, the custome was at first to burne them; according to that of *Quintilian. Declam. 10. Animam, quoties exonerata membris mortalibus levi se igni lustraveris petere sedes inter astra.* And the reason was, saies that Scholiast, *because by this means the body might presently consume all away to nothing.* But that custome (I know not for what reason) was not so well lik'd by other people. Inso much that the *Magi* among the \* *Persians*, thought it *ἀνόσιον* a thing most profane (I \* *Diag. Lect. 110.* feare me more for the *Fire* then any thing else.) and therefore at length it came to be lesse us'd, so as sometimes they would bourn them, and sometimes only cover them with earth. Which is enough to prove, that there is no necessity that *τύμβος* a *Grave*, should come from *τῆς γῆς*, *τῆς γῆς κῆδος*, *to burne*, as the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* would have it. but for ought I can find even in after times, among the Greeks, buriall by burning, was still esteemed the more honourable and stately way of the two: as may appeare by their unwillingnesse to have it common. For they denied the use of it, First to Infants. 2 To such as kild themselves. 3 To such as were kill'd with Lightning or *Fulguritis*, struck with the Planet (as we say) who were to be buried there where they dyed, or at least in some peculiar place apart, as we doe those that Hang themselves, or the like. And thus *Capaneus*, whom the *Athenians* ston'd to death, as he was scaling the walls (a thing invented by him as some report) because they imagin'd him to have been shot to death by *Jupiter*, must needs be buried *καὶ σέφρῳ*, so *Adrastus* saies in *Euripides*,  
Κ κ 2  
Ἥκαρις

Ἡρώεις ἱερὸν ἀνέστην δόξαν θέλει  
 And lastly to Traytors: on whom they were loath to be-  
 stow any buriall at all. Inasmuch that *Themistocles* having  
 been dead long before in *Magnesia*, the Athenians in time of  
 a Pestilence, though they had expresse command from the  
 Oracle, to fetch his bones and bring them to Athens, could  
 by no means be permitted by the Magistrates to doe it, in re-  
 gard he had dealt with *Ariaxerxes* to betray their Country.  
 and therefore having obtained fifty daies time to celebrate  
 his Funerall, as the fashion was (as I may say) in his picture,  
 having erected a Tent, closely conveyed thither his bones,  
 and hid them in the ground. The Originall of this Law the  
 Scholiast upon *Homer* fetches from *Hector*, who in the time  
 of the siege of Troy, threatned whomsoever he found leav-  
 ing his place treacherously in the fight, to kill him himselfe,  
 adding withall,

Ἦναι τοῖς θούλοις πύρες λελάχοντι θανάτου.  
 Upon which words you have this Scholy. Ἦναι τὸν θούλον τὸ  
 πυρὸς καὶ θανάτου, ὡς καὶ νομοθετήσαντες ἐκείνην. Hence  
 came the Law &c. But I must tell you after all this, that how-  
 ever burning and burying are so near in their sound, they have  
 been farre enough distant in their being; at least in some  
 Countries. For at Rome it was not used in *Macrobiius* his  
 time. Among the Greeks indeed it may be rather thought to  
 have been discontinued only upon dislike; then not to have  
 been begun when it was not used: For one of them (I know  
 not his name) thinking the fire (which they esteemed pure  
 and holy) to be polluted by the dead body, which it was to  
 purify, is reported by a Scholiast upon *Homer*, to have cryed  
 aloud to *Prometheus* with these words, Ἐσάρησον, βοῦθυσον,  
 κλέψον εἰ δύνατον καὶ πάλιν τὸ πῦρ, O, pray carry the fire back again  
 where you had it. The first that ever gave example in this kind,  
 is reported to be *Hercules*. Who desiring of *Licymnius* to send  
 his sonne *Argius* to help him in the warre with *Laomedon* for  
 the

the horses, engaged himselfe by an oath, to see him home safe  
 to his Father againe; but the sonne being killed in the Warre  
 he took him and burnt him; and carried his bones to his fa-  
 ther, σπρίζουσιν αὐτὸν putting a fallacy upon him, as if he had  
 had his son indeed, when there was nothing left but the bare  
 bones. And yet he used him better then *Cyniras* K. of *Cyprus*,  
 did *Menelaus*, who having promised him fifty shippes with  
 men, sent him but one true ship, and pop'd him along with  
 shippes and men made of clay for the rest. The story is likely  
 enough, but he that told me said he did not believe it, and  
 therefore leaving the argument of an example, gives a rea-  
 son or two of the use of the custome, either because πᾶν τὸ  
 νεκρὸν ἐκκαθαρόν, every dead thing is impure, and so it had need to  
 be purified: and the rather by fire, because it was common-  
 ly used to such a purpose, as being ἀγνιστόν, able to make  
 that pure and chaste which before was adulterated with Hete-  
 rogeneous abasements and alloys: whence *Euripides* saies of  
*Clytemnestra's* body πυρὶ καθαγίσηται. Or else to shew, how the  
 divine and purer part of the man is carried in the fire, as in a  
 coach to be joyned in society with the gods above, τὸ δὲ θεῶν  
 τῷ αὐτῷ σώματι ἀναφορεῖσθαι ὡς καὶ ἐκ χύμας τὸ πῦρ (how neere this  
 goes to expresse the fiery Chariot of *Elias*). ἀεγνίζου τὸν ἑκα-  
 ντισ, Which Princes had no need of, if they could be carried  
 upon *Eagles wings*: as I shall tell you anon. Thus *Scylla* in *Ly-  
 cophron* is said ἀνακτιδίσθαι, to be made again by the fire, and so  
 to become καλὸς ἄνθρωπος, as he calls it. Thus the naked So. lb. 2.  
 phisters of *India* (πυρὶ αὐτοῖς) used to burne themselves into  
 that immortality, which they desired of *Alexander*, when he  
 put them to aske what they would.

## C A P. XXIX.

*De ritu Cremandi, sive comburendi corporis.  
De loculis & reliquiis.*

THE manner of burning, was to make a pyle of wood; and having laid the corps on the top, to set it one fire, according to that of *Homer*, where he speakes of *Hector*,

Ἐν δὲ πυρὶ ἑσπότεν νεκρὸν θύσαν ἐν δ' ἱέλαον σῶν.

The wood was not all waies of one sort. But sometimes Oake: as in \* *Euripides*, where you shall read of καρμῖς δρυὶς *Oaken billets*, at the funeral of *Hercules* his children. Sometimes Olive, as in \* *Sophocles*. And sometimes Pine, as in *Athenens*: unlesse shall I say, that he confined the use of it to the buriall of Virgins. If the party had lost his life in a shipwrack, I have read that they made the fire of the planks of the ship,

— ut corpus sepeliret nanfragus ignis

*Et collecta roguin facerent fragmenta carina.*

Thus to burne the bodies, they call'd it πυρὸν τὰ σώματα, and the Bone-fire it selfe πύρον.

All the while it was burning, the mourners stood round about the Bone-fire, and pray'd to the Winds to blow, (for so *Achilles* in *Homer* is said to have done at the burning of *Patroclus*) to make it burne the better. Not to put the carcasse (surely) but themselves out of the paine. If there happened to be a very strong wind just at that time, they embrac'd it as an excellent good omen: Still there was a κήρυξ, a Bell-man there ready to keep off any that should offer to meddle with the bones. *Ossa ne legito*, saies the Roman. When all was burnt to the Bones, the next of the kin quenched the fire with red Wine. And after that τῶν πέτρων σὺν τοῖς ὀστέοις ἐχώνυσον, \* they swept up the ashes together in a heape. The bones they took and wash'd them in water brought

Il. 2.

\* *Herc. Fur.*  
v. 241.  
a In *Trach.*  
b L. 15.

Mantius l. 4.

\* Il. 4.

brought in ὑδρίας pots for the Purpose, by the ἐχύτεραιαι, (Women appointed for that worke, and for bringing Milke, and such other things as they us'd in the χειρὶ) and having anointed them with ointments, and the fat of a Sow; they wrap'd them in fine linnen, and put them into a coffin which they call'd θύκων, or πύλον, or σπῆν.

\* Ὅς δ' ὕστερα ναῖν οὐκ σπῆν ἀμφοτεροῖσι.

The vessell, whatsoever it was, is in *Lycophon* called κραινός, as if it were a Pot: and in *Moschus* χρυσοῦ κραινός, as if it were Idy l. 4. went to be gilded. And in \* *Plutarch* λίθινος σπῆν, as if it were wont to be of stone. Methinks it may be called a coffin, for I read it was usually made of Wood, viz. of Cedar, which is longest a rotting, and is therefore called νεκρῶν ξύλον, the life of the dead. Indeed whether it were ordinary to have such coffins, or only for those that had *Sepulchra*, and vaults of purpose under ground to set them in, I cannot well tell. But that there was such a thing, and that it was made of Cedar, the word κείρεν, us'd sometimes for the chest it selfe does seeme to declare in those words of *Admetus* desiring \* *Eurip. Alc.* to lye with his Wife in the Grave-bed too. v. 365.

Ἐν ταῖσιν αὐταῖς δὲ μ' ἐπιταφίω κατέειπ

Σοῖτάς δ' εἶπεν παλαιοῖς —

A wish not unreasonable; Seeing the thing desir'd was so usual both among the Greeks and the Romans too. *St An-* *stins* own Mother was of the same mind: for why?

Quos certus amor quos hora navissima iunxit

Componi tumulo non invidetis eodem.

*Ovid. Met. l. 4.*  
fab. 2.

The Athenians indeed seldom put above one mans bones in the same coffin; but the *Megarenses* many times foure, saies *Pausanias*. The bones which they kept, because they were that which the fire left, were called λείψανα, or Relicks. And they were thus kept saith the Scholiast upon *Euripides* in *Orestes*, οὐκ ἐχθροῖς &c. least they should be expos'd to the rage of too deadly Enemies. If the party were burnt in a forreign Country, his bones or his ashes were carried home in the coffin

coffin, and pompously shewed and adorn'd with Garlands in every place they came to, according to that of *Ovid*.

*Offiz tamen facio parvâ referantur in Urnâ*

*Sic ego non etiam mortuus Exulero.*

When they came where there were crosse waies, those that were of kin to the party kept *Compitalia*-feasts, διῶν \* ἀγῶνων ἐστραὶ αἱ γυμνασιαὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ καὶ τῷ σεσηκέντων τοῖς γειτοῖς. After they had laid it up among the Monuments, they cited the party three times (twas a number very superstitiously used by all nations) to make his appearance.

— *Magnâ manes ter voce vocavi.* ( but of this already ) Now the place where the coffin was put, was a Sepulcher common to all the rest of the family, only such as prov'd a unthrifts, were excommunicated by Law, and branded with the name of ἀνόμιμοι.

### CAP. XXX.

#### *De Tumulis.*

THE customes used in a cold buriall were these, ( and some of them used at a burning too: as the Sacrifice, the speeches, and the playes ) The peculiar place of buriall was usually chosen before they died, and markt with a black stone. And when they came to be buried, a heape of earth thrown upon the body, πρὸς ὁρθὴν χεῖρ. Ἀλλήλεις τάφου, &c. saies *Ulysses* ( in *Hecuba Euripidia* ) agreeable whereto, is that phrase of the same Poet in another place. αὐτίκα ἐξέχων τάφου and the Latine word *Tumulus* a heap or a grave. But (I think) for the better sort, they made it higher, & a little handsomer, with stones, somewhat after the fashion of our Tombs. For so *Thesem* told *Hercules*, the Athenians should honour his Corps — λαοιοὶ τ' ἐξογκώμασι. Whether earth or stones: it seemes they desired to have it polished, as neat as might be, fast and smooth.

Τύμβου

\* Τύμβου κατὰ τὴν ἑσθλὴν,

saies the same Poet in \* *1b. v. 836.*

*Alcestu*, and in *Helena* — αὐτὴν ἐστὶν τὸν στήθεα which the body usually had in the grave, was with the face towards the East saies *Diogenes Laert.* in *Democrito*; towards the West, saies *Plutarch* and *Alian*. On the stone which I mentioned, was written the name & the condition of the party deceased, which they described commonly in verse. *Plato* was for just foure Heroick verses and no more. Such Epitaphes they called μαρτυράτα, because they made known the party: as the Romans did *Monumenta* and *Memorias*, because they made them remembred. And therefore the *Lacedemonian* Souldiers, ( saies *Justin* ) used to tye a ticket, or a note, about their wrists, to certify of what condition they were; that in case they should dye in the Fields, they might have a buriall and a Monument, according to their quality. Having thrown the earth upon him, the next worke was to Sacrifice, and pray that it might not lye too heavy. *Sit tibi terra levis.* Such a prayer as the Chorus in *Euripides* used for *Alcestu*.

— κατὰ σοὶ

Χθὼν ἐσθλὴν πείσεις, γύναι.

\* *11. 462.*

Which benefit as they thought too great to be granted to a wicked \* fellow, or a \* Coward, so they thought it too little \* *Κακός.* to be denyed to another: and this made *Meneclaus* to feare so little to dye, for saies he.

\* Εἰ γ' ἦσαν δὲ τοιοῦτοιοι

Εὐτυχὲν ἀσδρα παλαιῶν θανόντ' ὅπο

Καὶ κατὰ μνηστῆρας ἐν τῷ βίῳ χθονὶ

Κακὸς δ' ὅφ' ἔσται σπέρδ' ἐμβαλῆναι γῆς.

\* *Eurip. Hel. v. 857.*

### CAP. XXXI.

#### *De Infernis.*

THE manner of Sacrificing to the Infernall gods, or the gods of the dead (for *infernum* or ἀδης or ἀδης, was a place

L I

for

for all alike ) was to dig a ditch for the Altar ( ἡ ἱερὰ ) ( perchance to get the nearer to them ) according to that practice in Ovid.

Hand procul ego à scrobibus tellure duabus  
Sacra facit.

Met. l. 7.

Odys. 11.

\* En. 6.

The Victim then slain, was either a barren Cow, as \* Homer saies  
— στείρου βῶν, ὅπως αἰεὶ, and Virgil.  
— Sterilemq; tibi Proserpina, vaccam.

Or else a black sheep, such as the old fellow saw slain at the grave of Agamemnon

\* Πυρρὸς δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἔην μαλαγχοῦν πικρὸν

\* Eurip. Ele-

tr. v. 513.

2 In Oedip. v.

556.

L. 7.

Plut. in Sol.

Hom. Il. 4.

And such as Seneca speaks of a *Nigro bidentes vellere*, &c. the reason why they made choise of this colour, was either because it suited best with mourning: or because it was to the black gods of the darke. For as \* Arnobius saies, *Diis lavis sedes habitantibus inferas color furvus est gravior*. Afterwards it rose to an Oxe; till it was forbidden by Solon. Whether it were Sheep or Bullock, or Hog: as it was best, if it were a spayd or a barren female: so it might not be Ramme nor Bull, nor Boare. &c. τὰ μὲν γυναικῶν ζῶα, ὅς τε παρ' ἐστέρων, ἢ ὅσα μὴ ἴσων ἔσονται, saies the Scholiast; and that for the same reason ( as he saith ) for which at the same time they offered downe both their haire, and the Bristle-haire of the beast, which grew upon his fore-head, Ἀπαρχὰς viz. ὡς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μὴ ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, that they might not give the dead, either that which had life in it selfe, or that which could beget it in another thing. Those setae, or bristle-haires, are in a peculiar manner termed ἀπαρχαί, and the offering thereof, ἀπαρχή, as in these words,

— ἀπαρχή μιν ὁ κεφαλῆς τείχεα ἐκ πυλὸς βάλλων

\* Ἀργεῖον δ' ὅς

Thus rendered in the words of Virgil.

*Et summas carpens media inter cornua Setae  
Ignibus imposuit—*

Yea not only the beast which they slew; but all the rest which they suffered to live, in the time of a publick funerall, came under the hands of the Barber, as well as the men: As appears by the practice of Mardonius and his Army, reported by Herodotus, to have trim'd their Horses and Bullocks, and all, at the funerall of Masiastus. In the like manner Alexander at the funerall of Hephestion dealt with the Horses and the Mules, and the Walls themselves of the Towne of Ecbatana τεκνίρας ( as Elian has it ) shaving them ἐν ῥέφῳ close to the ground. And, I remember, in \* Euripides, Admetus desiring to celebrate his Wifes funerall in the best manner that might be, gives order for the Coach-horses manes to be all cut,

— ἢ μορφήν πυκνὰ

Πάλαι σὺν ῥῆτι τέμνεται αὐτὸν ὄφελον.

\* In Alceste.

v. 429.

Then besides the victim they had τὰς χοάς Libationes, which was usually ὠλκήρα, hony and milke and wine; to which they added Cakes, if the Translator render aright

— ἐν πυρὶ δόσαντες.

In \* Euripides. the manner of offering these liquors, was first to goe round about the grave, and powre out some as they went out of the bottle ( as he \* saies χοάς ἀκόν ) and then to stand on the top, and doe it there too, as Sophocles saies καλῶνς ἐξ ἀκρῶν &c. As they offered, they used certaine speeches to the party deceased, such as that was Ἑλένησ' ἀδελφεῖ ἢ δὲ θυγατρὶ ῥαυί.

Together with prayers to the gods, and the ghosts of the dead, to be propitious to them. And therefore those χοαί, were usually termed ἡδωτήριος, and θαλκήριος, and κηλητήριος: χοαί: and they made choise of the most proper liquors, for to sweeten and supple them. Such a prayer is that in Euripides to the ghost of Achilles, ὦ παῖ ἀνδρῶν, πατρὸς δ' ἐμοῦ, δέξαι χοάς μιν τὰς ὑ κηλητῆλεις νεκρῶν ἀγῶνας &c.

Those Sacrificing offices were especially to be performed by the Kindred too ( as most of the rest were ) and therefore Cassandra setting forth the sad condition of the Leaguers at Troy, and their friends at home, saies she, Their Parents be-



ing this benefit of their children in the Siege.

— ἢ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις

Ἐδ' ἔστις αὖτ' ἢ αὖ γὰρ ἀπορήσεται.

— n, body have

To let a victime blood upon their grave.

# CAP XXXII.

De Coronandis tumulis, & de Phyllebolia.

**B**ESIDES all this, there must be Garlands laid upon the grave too, as there were before upon the the hearse and the corps. And this action they called *στεφανίζω* ἢ *πέμνον*, and the Garlands themselves *ἑσπας* and that more properly then any of the former, as being not only *ἡσπασμένους*, made of a Col-  
*lation*, or a collection of all sorts of flowers gathered together, but also made to be throwne *ἐντὶ* \* *ἔξω*, upon the Earth. Sometimes indeed they made those Garlands of nothing but the flower *πρόσι*, (saith \* *Athenæus* : ) and then the Garlands were called *πρόσι* too. And it may be sometimes of *Σέλιον* or *Απινὸν* as I have occasion to think from that story of *Timoleon*, who when he was to fight with the *Carthaginians*; there met him by chance Mules laden with this *Απινὸν*. The Souldiers being affrighted therewith, because of the use which they knew to be made of that hearb in funeralls ( whence the proverb of on that is desperately sick *πρόσι* *πέλει* : that he needs *Απινὸν* ) refus'd to fight: but he told them, *Nay, rather take courage, my Souldiers, and make it an omen of victory, for there is use of the hearb, when a man has won the best as a fight, as well as when death hath given him the worst.* The first beginning of this custome, is by *Pilostratis* (in *Heroicis*) attributed to the *Thessalis*, when they did it to the grave of *Achilles*. The reason of it, saies \* *Clemens*, was to expresse the quiet condition of the dead, and their freedome from care & trouble, *ἀποχλήτου ἀφαιμένους ὁ σέφηνον* *σύμβολον*. But I rather think

\* L. 14. & 5.

\* *Pedag.* l. 11.  
 c. 8.

think with the Scholiast upon *Enripides*, as I have formerly told you, that they intended it *πρὸς τὸ τιμᾶν τὸν ἀποθανόντα* *ἢ* *τιμᾶν τὸν ζῶντα*, to honour the dead as they use to doe the living, when they won the *Game*. For the same reason, doubtlesse, was it that they did *ἐπιδοβολᾶν* ( as they called it ) fall a throwing of boughes and leaves upon the grave: as *Enripides* saies, they did to *Polyxena*, when she dyed. ( for in latter times, if a man had wonne a race or the like, they had a custome to bedeck his valiant corps with boughs and leaves ). you have it done by an old fellow in \* *Enripides* with Myrtle.

— *τύμβω δ' ἀμύδινα μυρτιάς*

Whether was there any allusion therein to the golden-bough or no? I think not: but if you will, you may read more of that bough in *Virgil*, and in *Servius* his notes upon him. It seemes that in *Italy* they had the same customes. For saies \* *Varo*, *ad Sepulchrum ferunt frondes*, they carried leaves to cast upon the dead trees. And that they took the paines to make Garlands too will appeare by those words of *Min. Felix* to *Octavius*, *Coronas etiam sepulchris demegatis* &c. nay, *Addunt nunc etiam lanam*, saies my \* *Author*, they came to wool at last, when they had more to spare.

\* *Elestr.* v.

§ 12.

\* *En.* 6.

\* *L. 6. de L. L.*

# CAP. XXXIII.

De Columnis. de Oratione. & Ludis funeribus.  
 & de Aquilis.

**E**ITHER upon, or close by the grave, they were wont to erect a Pillar, the height whereof was not to be above three cubits by the Law. To the Pillar sometimes they added, either the Image of the party, or of somewhat else to resemble him. Thus *Diogenes* was honoured with the Image of a dog, for being a *Cynick*; and *Isocrates* with the Image of a *Siren*, for being an *Orator*. And it puts me in mind of *Admetus* his over constant love to his wife; when he would get the

L. 1 3

Image

Image curiously made, and have it lye in the bed with him in her place, for so he tells her.

Σ: αὖ ἡ γυνὴ ταύτην δίδμας τὸ πρὶν  
Εἰσαβύει ἐν κλισίᾳσι δαμνῶσιν.

The honour which they gave the dead in commending him, was either by private discourse at home at the feast, or by a publique speech in the *Ceramicus*. Which speech, if the party dyed in a battell, was to be made by one appointed by the Magistrate, (ordinarily the Father or one of the Kin) and that not only at the time of buriall, but every yeare after: as

Lib. de Orat.

Cicero saies, in *Populari oratione* mos est *Athenis* laudari in concione eos qui in prelio sint interfecti: quæ sic probata est, ut eam quotannis, ut scis, illâ die recitari necesse sit.

The first that began this custome of making speeches, some say, was *Pericles*, who made one upon the death of those that were slaine in the *Peloponnesian* warre; and some. *Solon*. but besides funerall-speeches, they had funerall-plays too, ἀγῶνας ἐπιταφίους. both the Play and the Feast; commonly goe under the name of τῶς θ.

After I have thus vexed you, with a tedious company of fopperies, practised by the unhappy people of those times, even in burials, when they should haue more wit: what will you say, if I have that yet left, which will please you all as much, viz. that even they themselves for the most part, esteemed those practises, both unprofitable to the dead, and vaine and foolish in the living, as may appear in the words of *Hecuba* her selfe, or the \* Poet for her.

Δοῦναι ἢ τοῖς θανόντι διαφθεῖν βέλγῳ,  
ἢ ἡλικιωσέντι τὸ δέξασθαι κτενεσμενῶν  
Κερδὲν ἢ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐστὶ τὸ ζῶντων τὸ θ.

I thinke it boots the dead the least of all,  
How rich or poore they have the funerall,  
Tis th' livings vanity for this to call.

Having thus disposed of the body, they returned home. For the Soule they take no care, unlesse it were a King or a Prince

Prince, whose soules they imagined ἐχιδνὰς to be caried into heaven upon *Eagles wings*: and therefore was it, that they were \* wont to honour them with the pictures of *Eagles*. So at *Rome*, when they buried an Emperour, they used to let fly an Eagle over the grave. In allusion to this *Lycophron* calls *Achilles* εἰς τὸν an Eagle, because he carried about *Hectors* body in a Coach.

Artemid. l. 2.  
c. 20.

# CAP. XXXIV.

De Lustratione Domus funesta, & de Parentalibus. &c.

Being come home, they fell a purging and *Lustrating* the house with brimstone; and themselves, by going through the fire; or some other lustration, for there were severall sorts thereof, and if I have leasure, I may chance to speak more of it. thus I remember in the Poet, 'tis said they did to the Kings house, who was slaine by *Hercules*: rounding the Alter with a Basket, and dipping the δαλὸν in the holy-water, and I know not what more.

Ἰερεὺς δὲ τῷ αἵματι ἐχέρας δίδω  
Καθάραι δίκων.

Eurip. Herc.  
F. v. 923.

After this they kept a feast, τὸ εὐδαιμονίαν *Silicernium*, or circum potationem, as the manner is with some of us. Those that were at it wore Garlands: as Cicero saies, quas inibant parentes coronati. The colour of their apparrell was white: & quis unquam canavit atratus, saies \* Cicero. But how is it then that *Homer* makes *Thetis* to goe all in black to *Jupiter* about the death of her Son? So I remember *Admetus* in \* Euripides bids them mourne for *Alceste*, ἐν μαυροπέπλῳ σάλλει, in black: and *Venus* in *Theocritus* celebrated the funerall of *Adonis* καυσθὲν in a sky coloured gowne. Perchance they wore black no longer, then till it came to the feast. This feast they renewed againe, not only nine daies after, when they called it ἐνατα, and thirty dayes after, when they called it τριακοντάτης (when they

a Po. l. 13.

\* Eurip. Tro.  
ad v. 1247.

they sacrificed to *Mercury*; that he might carry their souls to the fields) but also upon the day of his death ever after; calling it *κρήνη* and upon the day of his birth calling it *ῥαϊνία*. The common name for all these feasts, or the common festivity for all the infernall rites, and for all persons, was *Νεμεσία*, usually kept in the Month of *Ἀνιήστηριον*; as the *Parentalia* were by the Romans in the Month of *February*, in quibus parentabantur manibus mortuorum when the Kindred especially ( *les parens* ) did sacrifice both to the earth, and the Gods under it and the ghosts of their Parents, or their Ancestors above it.

Of all these Funerall rites that I have named, none that had been an enemy to the person deceased, might be suffered to beare any part: as appeares by the words of *Electra* to *Chrysothemis* forbidding her to sacrifice,

Οὐδ' ἔστιν ἐχθρῆς τῷ πατρὶος ἱερίῳ.

Κρισηίδα.—

Nor so much as come neare the grave, as *Ulysses* in *Sophocles* is forbid to doe to the grave of *Ajax*. Nay such was *Sepulchralis sanctitas*, (saies *Tully*,) that no stranger might be suffered to doe it, for feare he might be an enemy. Moreover a law was made to forbid any one to take away from, or adde any thing more to the monuments, then what was already made.

And now it is high time to leave the body in the Month of death,) for so *Homer* calls the grave) to be gnawne like a sheep, by the never satiated teeth of a hungry *ἄλσιν* For *τῶν* a sheep, by the never satiated teeth of a hungry *ἄλσιν* For *τῶν* *ἄλσιν*, he that is buried, and laid in a *Sarco-phagus* in the belly of the earth, is as properly said to be devoured, as what is devoured and inclosed in the stomach of a *Whale* or a *Vulture*, or any ravenous creature, is commonly said to be buried *ἄλσιν*. For so the *Vultures* are called *ἄλσιν* *ἄλσιν*, *li-* ed *ἄλσιν*. For so the Metaphore is commonly made reach to *ving graves*: nay the Metaphore is commonly made reach to *men themselves*, some of whom, even *their mouths are open* *pulchers*, as well as the bellies have been of others. As that of

\* 11. p.  
Psal 49 14.

\* H. mog.

of *Tereus* when he ate his Sonne.

— *Σεῖς, vocat bustum miserabile nati.*

And of *Saturne* when he did the like. Nay being buried, and being devoured, have been counted so synonymous, that ( as *Lactantius* saies ) *Saturne* was thought to have been said, to have eaten his Sonnes, because he buried them where they might not be seen. Well, it cannot be helpt: these great eaters Death and the Grave are all mouth, and no eares, like the belly. There's no stopping nor filling their mouth. *Ἄλσιν* *ἄλσιν* *ἄλσιν*, saies *Aeschylus*, *Pluto has no Altars*. He is inexorable, and therefore called *ἀκαταδίδος* in *Euripides*. Neither ( saies a \* Scholiast ) was Death ever known to have an \* *On. Hom.* Altar but at *Gadira*, I know not wherefore. Let us see there. It is fore that his Wife be the more made of, now he is gone.

His Wife if she seemed to be with child, was taken into the care and protection of the *Archon*, least she might be cunningly perswaded to marry with whom she should not; and if any man offered to wrong her, the punishment was arbitrary. The children were committed *ἐκτρέφειν* to a *Tutor*. He that was to *ἐκτρέφειν*, to be overseer or Guardian, was either not to be of Kin at all; or else so farre off, that if the child should happen to die in his nonnage, the inheritance could not fall to him. A Tutor was either by will or by appointment of the *Archon*. Which way soever it were, he was *μετὰ δὲ νόμῳ* ( saies *Aeschines* ) and had the manning of all the affaires, till they came to be twenty yeare old: and then either they themselves, or any else that would, might sue out *ἔκδοσιν*, a writ *Male administrata Tutela*, and have him before the *Archon*. But this must be done within five yeares after the *Pupill* came to be of age, or not at all.

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L I B. VI.



## LIB. VI.

## SECTIO. I.

De Supplicationibus &amp; juramentis

## CAP. I.

De Supplicibus sacris. De asyliis &amp; aris.



Having taken this care to see the Marriage of himselfe, the Education of his children, and the honourable Buriall of his Body, it will be expected that now I say somewhat in commendation of his conditions, and concerning his manner of Life, either towards the gods, or towards Men. Of his carriage towards the gods, because there has been something already done in that kind, I shall not speak so largely; only a word or two, or more of the customes used in Supplication to, and in Swearing by the gods: and then I shall proceed to his actions towards Men, whether his friends in making merry with his equalls, and giving to the Poore; or his Enemies in waging of Warre. This Treatise, because of the

diversity

diversity of subjects, you have divided into three severall Sections, the first of Supplication called by them *ἱκετεία*.

The person of a distressed Petitioner (as an abused slave or the like) whether he addressed himselfe to men or to the gods, but especially if to the gods, was to be look't upon as Sacred and inviolable, as appears by the Oracle, sent from *Dadona's* Voeall Forrest to the *Athenians*, related by *Pausanias*.

Φρόγ' εὖ δ' ἄρ' Ἀρεῖον τ' ἐπὶ βασιλῆς τε θυώδεις  
Εὐμνήστω, ὅτι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἱκετεῦσιν  
Δουλοῦσιν ἐμὸν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἰσχυρὸν  
Μὴ δὲ ἱκετὴς ἀδικεῖν, ἱκετὴς ἰσχυρὸς τὰ καὶ ἀγνοῖ.

For if he came flying to such or such Altars as were appointed to be ἄσυλοι none might touch him upon paine of exilement. And therefore is it that *Polydorus* in *Euripides* makes it such a ground for his confidence: saies he

--- Βάσιλοι δ' ἱκετὰς πῶς ἀπέσι. The Altars are not  
furre off. So in another Tragedy, when *Helena* kept hanging  
upon the Bed for her refuge, *Menelaus* wondring thereat,  
\* what (saies he) dost Altars want, or is it the Barbarian mode? *Eurip. Hel.*  
And no wonder that they thus fled to Altars, or that others  
feared to meddle with, or to slay any body near them: viz:  
because they thought the blood would be upon them should  
that should doe it, yey though the Supplicants were already dead  
in the Law. For so the *Chorus* in *Ion* tells *Crensa*, the Law  
forbids any Petitioner to be put to death, *Truo* (saies she) but I  
must be killed by the same Law. No matter (replies the *Chorus*)  
sit fast, and if any one kill thee there

\* Περὲς ἐμῶν αἵμα δις εἰς.

Thy blood shall be upon him..

Insomuch that a great many even among them, seeing malefactors thus protected from the Law, and consequently encouraged to the transgression, were bold to complaine of the injustice of it, as you have *Ion* in the Tragedy, thus

καὶ δεινὸν γὰρ θνητοῖς καὶ νόμος ὅς ἐστι καλὸς  
Ἐδμεν ὁ νόμος, ὅς ἐστι καὶ νόμος τοῦ νόμου

M m 2

Tt;

\* Ib. v. 1258.

Τὸς δὲ ὑποδιδάσκους δοκῶντες ἐκ ἱζῆτος ἐχθρῶν  
 ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὺς αὐτοῖν, ἐδίδετο ὑποφωτιστὴν τοῦ  
 οὐρανοῦ πομπὴν αὐτῶν.

I said before, *such or such*: because 'tis thought that not any of the *Altars or Temples* had this priviledge, but only six *viz. Misericordia, Minerva, Eumenidum, Munichia*, and two of *Theseus Temples*, one within and another without the Walls. The first of these some say was the first *Ashura* that ever was made, erected by *Hercules* his Grand-children, to preserve them from their enemies, according to that of *Servius ad Æn. 8. Postquam Hercules migravit è terrâ, nepotes ejus timentes insidias eorum quos avus affixerat Athenis sibi primi Ashura, hoc est, templum misericordiae conlocarunt, unde nullus posset abduci*. An example imitated by other People, almost in every country. For they thought that otherwise a beast had a safer condition than a man. *ἔχει δὲ ναμπύλιον ἢ διὰ πύργου, δῖνοι δὲ Γαλάδες δύναν*. But is he now safe for ever? yes, unless they made a fire, and burnt him out of the hole, as we use to doe eeles, &c. And thus he in *Plautus* threatned to doe:

*Iha Hercle aliquò queritatum ignem*

*Ibo Hercle aliquo queritatem ignem* and *Hermione* in  
*Ignem magnum hinc faciam—* by the Altar of

*Ignem magnum hic faciunt* — and *Andromache* by the Altar of *Theis*. Πῦρ σοι στυγνόν — on which the Scholiast thus ἔδος τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ καταδύσας αὐτὴν ἀπεστήλειν, &c. And yet all τὰς οὐκ ἐταίρους, Petitioners, were not so afraid of a fire. As appears by the name of Εὐαίστοι, which they have from flying to hearths, the place for the fire, for refuge; as *Themistocles* did, when being Ostracis'd and banished, he fled to *Admetus* King of the *Molossi* for shelter. Otherwise none that fled thither, could be so wicked, but they counted him worse than should meddle with him. Inasmuch that those who killed the followers of *Cylon* ( though they plunder'd the Temple of *Minerva* ) because they killed them hanging on the Altars, were ever after themselves, and all other such prophane companions after them called ἀλτήριοι, as who should say, hinderers & litig supplicat

*supplication*. Profane, I said; for it was no better than profanation, according to the Poet, *sign maine*), the Garlands are *Polluted*.

*Eurip in He-  
rael.*

CAP. II

*De tangendis genis, manibus, genibus:*

**P**Etitioners both to the gods and Men, used to goe with <sup>στέφανοι</sup> Garlands about their necks, or green boughs in their hands \* *ἢν ἀλίστατοι δοκῶν πῆς, ἢς ἰδόντων* (saith the Scholiast on *Sophocles*) to beget respect, and amuse the beholders. Those green boughs are called by the severall names of *Σταλλοί, στυλάρια, ἰσπῆρες, ἰσπῆροι, κλάδοι*, and sometimes *ἰσπεῖαι* for \* *Ἰφίγενία* wanting them, told her Father she would make her own body supply the roome thus. In *Ant. v.*  
1216

In *Aut* v.  
1216,

\*καταλείπει τὰ νόμισμα, ἐξ ἀπώσεως.

Τὸ πᾶν τὸ μόνον—

In those boughs they put wooll, (as we do silk in posies).  
and so called them *hipocistae, vittas laureas*.

Δήνει μαζίω σωφρόνως ἐς αὐμμόρον

Αρσὶ τῆ καλλῶ.

Ἀροῦν τὴ μάλλιν· The wooll was not ty'd,  
and so fastened to the bowes, but only wreathed and wrap'd  
up in them: and (it may be) therefore it was that *Æthra* in  
the Tragedy of the *Theban Women petitioners* ( v. 31. ) called:  
it ἀροῦν ἀδελφον φουάδι· the *Tye without a knot*. The Italians,  
used such boughs too, as it seems, for *Virgil* saies

famq; oratores aderant ex Urbe Latinâ

*Kelaci ramis olea veniamq; rogantes.*

And *Livy* speaks of the like practice of the people of *Rhodes*.  
The boughs were either of *Lawrell* or *Olive*.

\* *Vittata laurus* & *supplicis arbor Olive.*

First because both those kinds are *desiderant* not subject to withering, and therefore <sup>a</sup> Euripides gives the latter the epithet of *eternam*. 2ly, Because the Laurall was signe of prevailing,

\* Stat. Theb. l. 12.  
a In Ion. v. 1436.

M m 3 and

\* Stat. Theb.  
L. 12.  
a In Ion. v.  
1436.

and the Olive of Peace and good will, as *Laſtantiſ* ſais, *per quam pax petitur ſupplicando*. Now the cuſtome was with thoſe boughs, if they were doub. full of prevailing, to touch but the *knees* of the man whom they Petition'd, or of the ſtatue of the god, juſt as \* *Lucretia* did *ῥαῖων αὐτῷ λαβόντα*. But if hopeful; the *hands*, b *ἐξ ἡμῶν τῶν χειρῶν ὁρῶν*. And if confident; the *chinne*, and the *cheeks*, c *ῥα χεῖρας ἡ γνάθον*. It is ſaid by a Comment upon *Pindar* in his *νῆμ.* (where the Poet deſires to touch *Eacus* his knees, when he prays for a Gale of ſucceſſe for the *Egineta*) that when they deſired the parties conſent, they touched the head to have at *annuere*: when his help, his *helping* hand; when ſucceſſe, the knee. The Laſt I know no *grat* reaſon for, but *hiſtory* enough, even from the *Natural Hiſtorian* himſelfe. *Hominis genibus quadam religio ineſt obſervatione gentium; hæc ſupplices attingunt ad hæc manus tendunt, hæc ut aras adorant.* All his reaſon is, becauſe of the abundance of ſpirits in the hollow of the knee, *foraſſe quia ineſt iis vitalitas, quippe quorum inanitate foſſa, cen jugulo, ſpiritus fingat.* And therefore *Homer* makes the *Lira*, the *Petitio*ners gods to be lame. As good as that of *Zenobius* ὅτι ἡ περὶ αὐτοῦ πῶς γόνασιν εἶχον, ἢ πῶς εἰς γόνασιν αἰετῶν, becauſe Judges had that upon their knees then, which now they write in their books.

If the *Petitio*ners were very fearfull, and the perſons of very great quaſity, they would bow ſo low as to kiſſe his feet; as thoſe did to *Cyrus*, *Κύρου κατερχόμενοι καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας*. It was either this kiſſe, or a kiſſe of their own hand, which they anciently termed *labratum*. The old gloſſe calls it *οὐλίμα* *Caſιλικόν*, ἢ ἀπουστικόν βασιλικόν. I have read of a kiſſe of the hand when they did the reverence to the Gods, with putting the fore-finger over the thumb (perhaps upon the middle joyn, which they uſed in counting for the number of tenne) and then giving a turne on the right hand, as it is in \* *Plautus*, *Quo me vortam, neſcio. Si deos ſalutas, dextero vortum, cenſeo.* The ſafeſt place for a *Petitio*ner to men too, as well as to the gods (as I have already told you) was the hearth or the fire,

\* *Dion. Halic.*l 4.  
b *Soph. Oed.*  
T.\* *Eurip. in*  
*Heract.**Xenoph. l. 7.*\* *In Gurguli*

fire whither they preſently ranne, when they came to any ſtrange place in travell, or exilement, as to the only Altar of the houſe, and the gods thereof. For according to that of *Cicero* in his oration for his houſe, *Nihil Sanctius, nihil omni religione munius, quam domus unicusq; civium.* *Hic ara ſunt, hic focī, hic dii penates, hic ſacræ religionis ceremoniæ continentur: hoc perſugium eſt ita ſanctum omnibus, ut inde arripi neminem fas ſit.* When they had once ſeated themſelves there in the aſhes, in as mournfull poſture as might be; they need not open their mouths for pity; neither was it the cuſtome ſo to doe. For thoſe actions ſpeak loud enough; and an eye would ſerve for hearing.

Τῷ δ' ἄνθρω, ὃ ἀναυδῶς ἐπ' ἐστὶ ἀϊεῖστας,  
ῥαρον &c.

This was the \* practice of *Ulyſſes* at the houſe *Aleinous*. L 4. *Argou.* and of *Themisto*cles at the houſe of *Admetus*; but ſo as firſt, by the inſtruction of the Queen, he took the Kings little ſon along with him for his guard, *ταῦτ' αὖτε κείνῳ καὶ μόνῳ ἔχον ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυμῶν ἰκταὶν ἐπὶ Μολοσσῶν*, the only way in uſe among the people to obtaine a request. *Thycidid.*

If they fled to the gods for refuge or for help, their faſhion was firſt to crowne the Altars with Garlands, and then to pray, that their deſires might be crowned with ſucceſſe.

\* Πάντας δὲ βαμὸς ἐκατ' Ἀδύτων δόμους  
Περσέειδ' αὐτὸν ἀξέειπε, καὶ προσέειπε  
Γίγθων ἀπὸ ῥέουσ' ὕδατος ὁρῶν.

\* *Eurip. in*  
*Alceſt.*

Their uſual geſture in praying, was to hold up their armes right toward heaven, as \* *Helen* ſaies

— θειδὰς ὠλέτας πρὸς ἑγερὸν  
\* *Πρὶν δ' —*

\* *Eurip. He.*  
*len v. 1100.*

But to weſt their hands as farre as they could upon their wreſts. According to that of *Elchylus*, where he ſaies of *Prometheus*, that though the gods had ty'd him faſt to the hill, his ſtomack was ſo great, that he ſaid he ſcorned to ſubmit or pray *manibus ſupinis*, with bended hands like Women and Children.

children.

Τὸν αὐτοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἔστην.  
Now sometimes, if they obtained their request and it were a matter of consequence, you should have them relate it to the Priest of the Temple to be registred; or write it downe in a Table, and leave it behind them, to shew for a testimony.

## CAP. III.

De generibus &amp; locis sacrificiorum.

AND now we are in, let's even out with a little more of that which we have observed in reading, concerning their manner of serving their Gods. Their divine services in respect of the cause or occasion, were ἰ. ἐκκλησία, or *ἐκκλησία*, *vota*, free-will offerings. Services promised and paid for a victory or the like.

--- \* *Cenae sacra parabat*Vota *ἰ. ἐκκλησία* --- 2ly τὰ Ἀπὸ μαρτυρίας, such as

Were imposed, and commanded by in Oracle.

--- \* *Eucratia* παρ' ἡ' τὸν μαρτυρίας πύδος.

In respect of the object (that is to which of the gods they were formed) they were done either 1<sup>o</sup> ἐν ὑποδαίοντι to the gods under ground, and that ἐν ἔχθρῳ in a ditch dig'd, or plow'd up for that purpose. The Latines called it *Ara*, such as they used when they sacrificed to the Heroes, (for whom they had also ἑστῶτα Temples and Playes, and what not) together with the 2<sup>a</sup> Image of *Vulcan* made of clay, to set it forth. 2ly τοῖς ὑδαίοντι, to the gods upon ground, much in the same manner. and 3ly τοῖς ἐπεδαίοντι, to the gods above ground, ἐν ἑστῶτι, upon an Altar rais'd up high from the ground, which the Latines therefore called *Altare*, and the Greeks βῆλος ἑστῶν, and ἑστῶν, as if it were a *werke*, *val-lum*, or *Agger*, made of earth cast up together. The distinction on betwixt βῆλος and ἑστῶν, is set downe by the Scholiast on

Euripides

\* *Euripides* thus βῆλος is an Altar built up high with an ascent of severall steps ἑστῶν as it were one step it selfe, after the fashion of some hearths in the figure of a quadrangle. (just as they made their Ἀλτάρη <sup>a</sup> wherein they powred oyle and wine, and tempered it with the dust, to make cakes for the divell) The occasion given him to make this distinction, was the words βῆλος ἑστῶν in the Author: whereupon he notes that ἑστῶν was there used in a large fence, for the hole, τὸ κοίλωμα, or the concavities in the top of the βῆλος for the fire. At the making of a βῆλος (and so at the making of a Statue to be worshipped) they had a custome ἐπεδαίοντι ἑστῶν χύττας ἀπὸ ποικίλων, for women in garments of severall colours, to carry about pots of severall sorts of boyled pulse, and to offer thereof to the gods.

<sup>a</sup> In Pheniss.<sup>a</sup> Schol. in Aristoph. Ecclef.<sup>b</sup> Schol. in Aristoph. in Plauto.

--- τὸν χύττας αὐτὸν δίδω

ἰ. ἐκκλησία, λαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐβρε.

They made it commonly of earth heaped together, and so it may be called χῆμα or tumulus, as it uses to be sometimes of ashes; sometimes of earth and bloud tempered together; sometimes of stone, and sometimes of wood. For the figure, it was sometimes long, and sometimes square; but most often \* κυκλοτερές, round: as the Theatre, the market-places, & their Tables used to be. The places where they made their Altars, were usually *Mountaines* & *high-places* (so often objected to the heathenish Israelites) for according to the Scholiast upon those words of \* *Sophocles*, \* Οἷος ἑστῶν ὑψιστον ἑστῶν &c. πᾶν ὃ ἐστὶν τῷ Διὶ δίδωμεν ἑστῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ὑψιστῷ ὄντι τῷ Διὶ ἐν ὑψιστῷ τῷ ὑψιστῷ, every *Mountain* was called by *Jupiters name*, or consecrated to *Jupiter*, because the god being in a high place, it was fit to sacrifice to him in a high place, to be heard the better; as it was to the terrestriall gods in a low, to come neerer to them. Besides, the Altar in such a place, was the lesse in danger to be got up upon, and profaned, as being kept (as the same Scholiast saies) ἀβέβητος ὃ ἀβάν, holy and untroden.

<sup>a</sup> In Trach.

N n

3ly

<sup>a</sup> Ovid, Met. l. 9.<sup>a</sup> Sophoc on Trach.<sup>a</sup> Schol. in Arist. in Avib.<sup>b</sup> Sophoc on Trach.<sup>c</sup> Eurip. in Heracl.

\* Pindar.  
Isth. Δ.

\* Schol. in  
Eurip.

\* Suidas.

3ly In respect of time, some doe say that they sacrificed to the *Hero's*, \* ἐν δυσμῶν αὐγῶν in the evening; and to others in the morning.

Lastly in respect of the matter or the thing sacrificed, it was either ζῶον of living creatures, properly called θυσία or else of things without life; and those either ξηρῶν dry, as eorne and flower, or ῥυγῶν wet, as Wine, or Milke, or Hony, usually called by the name of ρόδ. The first *Pythagoras* could not endure, as thinking it unnaturall to kill any thing; and so was all for his ἀγὰς θυσίαι, wherein there was no bloud, or ἀκαταθυσίαι, (as *Thucydides* calls them) where there was no smoake, or \* ἀνοξίλη θυσία, where there was no Wine. But every one else almost like't it too well, and no such glorious a businesse as an ἐντελής θυσία, a whole burnt sacrifice. Sometimes greater then a *Sauvetauralia*, and consisting of a Sow, a Bull, a Ramme, and a Goat: and sometimes but a τριῆς, of a Sow, a Ramme, and a Goat. I hardly believe they ever went so high as an hundred, notwithstanding—τελέων ἐκατόμβαι. Out of every Sacrifice one part went for a fee to the Prytanes, or Commissaries, unlesse they were rob'd of their due: as it seemes they were sometimes, by him in the Poet, threatening to complaine of one that did so,

\* Καὶ τὸ φῶνός τῶν ἀντιπρῶτων  
Ἀδικατέοντες ἢ δῶν ἰσ-  
χῆς ἔχοντα καὶ λῆναι

\* Aristot.  
in Equit.

#### CAP. IV.

##### De generibus & formulis jurandi.

\* Hesiod.  
\* Ep. ad Heb.  
6. 16.

\* Idem. in  
Theogon.

Οὐκ ἂν ὅτι, (the Son \* of Eris, and yet the end \* of all contention) was of two sorts, viz. ἡ μὴ, & ἡ μετὰ, the greater, and the lesse. The greater oath was either of men by the gods: or of the gods themselves, by the *Syrgian Lake*.

Αὐτῶν μὲν δὲ ἔθνη δῶν μέγαν ἑμμεταίῃ ὄρκον.

Which

Which is the cause why some fetch the word ὅρκος an oath, from *Orcus* Hell. This Oath was then invented by *Jupiter*, and prescribed by him to the rest of the gods, when he had the assistance of *Sisyx*, and his Sons against the *Titans*; or when he dranke of the water, to quench his thirst in the fight. *Servius* saies (out of *Orpheus*) that if any god had sworn false, or broken his oath when he swore by *Sisyx*, he was to be punished for it in hell nine thousand yeares: Which order, even *Jupiter* himselfe submitted to, and therefore took the more care how he sware, as *Minutius* saies, *Destinatam enim sibi cum suis cultoribus poenam praescius perhorrescit*. He that swore either of these waies, was properly said to ἑμμεταί, and to yeeld himselfe up to the mercy of those that were able to punish him, if he called them to witnesse that which was contrary to his knowledge, or his meaning. So that sometimes it was the custome to adde an imprecation of some evill, wherewith he knew them able to punish him, if he swore false. As *Telmachus* does in *Homer*.

Οὐ μὰ Ζεὺς Ἀγλαῶς, καὶ ἀλγὰς πατρὸς ἐμῆο  
By *Jove*, and the sorrowes of my Father.

The *Womens* oath was commonly by *Juno*; and by my Lady *Diana*, as \* *Clytemnestra* uses in *Euripides*, καὶ τῶν θεῶν Ἀρταρ, much like the superstitious oath of *By my Lady*, a \* In *Elect*. among some of us. The gods, by whom the men were to sweare by the appointment of *Solon*, were three (or if you will, one *Jupiter* Ὀρκῶ with three names) viz. Ἰκίον, Καδάρσιον, and Ἐξαισιον. For that *Jupiter* was the proper *Custos juramentorum*, (as I may call him) if it doe not appeare, (as some say it does in the word *jusjurandum*, quasi *Jovis* jurandum, it will sufficiently be proved by the plaine testimony of the Poet, that saies

—Ζεῦ δ' ἔστι θεῶν.

Θεῶν ἵς ταμίαις νεμεσίου.

*Eurip. Med.*  
v. 170.

But so farre were they from being contented to sweare by none but *Jupiter*, that not only, any other of the gods, but any of their own men lately dead, and thought to be deified, did serve



serve the turne : as when *Demosthenes*, swore by *τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι*, those that valiantly dyed in the battle of Marathon. Sometimes for over much hast or confidence, or some such reason, they left it to the party, to whom they swore, to chuse any of the gods, whomsoever him pleased to be tryed by: in this manner, *ὅμνουμεν ἢ τινὰ θεῶν*, as we say, *Ile lay you what you will.* This forme you may find used by *Plato* in *Phædro*, and by *Aristenetus* in his Epistle of \* *Euxinismus* to *Pythius*. Sometimes they swore by many gods together in the plurall number, without specifying whom they meant. And sometimes by all their twelve gods, ( as the *Lacedæmonians* did by their two *πᾶσι Σίστα* *Castor* and *Pollux* )

\* L. 2. Ep. 2

\* *Aristoph.* in *Equest.*

neist nor true; only they thought them to be *Majorum gentium*, of the higher house, and *Deos consentes*, and so they put them together. ) Other times againe, they swore by this or that god in particular, to whom either the affaires they handled, or the place where in they were, especially belonged: expressing his name. For so in the Market in buying and selling, or the like businesse, they commonly swore this Oath *ὃν ἢ Ἐρμῆν ἢ Ἀργυροῦν*, by *Mercury*. But then you should have some that out of meere *deisidamony*, would say no more then *ὃν ἢ τὸν* By *Græc.* *ἐπαλαστήσας χάριν ἐπαυθοντο* *δουλοῖ*, with a \* religious forbearing to name the God. Hitherto you may reduce the oath by an oath it selfe, \* *ὃν ἢ τὸν θεόν*. *ὃν* or *ὃν* with *ὃν* before it, in the Poets, was for an affirmative oath: and *ὃν* for a negative.

\* *Aristoph.* in *Ran.*\* *Pind.* *Nem.*

## CAP. V

De iuribus in Jureamento Magno.

THE customes in taking a Great oath, if it were in a publike manner, and by way of vindication of the truth, were these. The gods used to lift up their hands, as *Apollo*

in the Poet bids *Lachesis* *χρῆσθαι Ἀντήροις*. Little thought he how the Scripture makes the like action of the true God in severall places. Men when they swore a great oath, laid downe their hands upon the Altar, as we doe upon the New Testament: whereas in a lesse, or in a private oath, made to such or such a Man, by way of a bargain or a promise, according to the Roman fashion, they layd their hand, upon the hand of the party to whom they swore. This ceremony, I remember, *Menelaus* in \* *Euripides* demanded of \* *Helena* besides the words of her oath.

Ἐπὶ τοῖς ἢ τοῖς ὄν, δεξιὰς εὐνὸς δίχα.

2ly To honour the gods by whom they swore, they sacrificed the life of one of these three beasts, *καρπός*, *κεῖς*, and *τράχος*. a Boare, a Ramme and a Goate: or all three, and of every sort one or three of one of the sorts, as *Adrastus* was made to doe of the three sheep, in behalfe of the *Argives*.

— \* *λαμῆς θεῶν θεῶν μίλων τεμνὸν* which they called \* *Eurip. Supl.* *υποσφαλῖν*. Sometimes when they killed a Boare, they cut

out the stones ( *ὄγκος* & *ὄρχος* are pretty neare kin ) and stood upon them as they swore. A Ramme or a Boare thus used is properly called *τεμνός*. Perhaps they used to sacrifice Pigges chiefly ( as the Romanes did ) at the confirmation of Leagues and Truces. And good reason choyce should be made of that beast, rather then any other in swearing too, since there was so great account made of it in other businesse, as *sollemne* as that. For 1. *Jupiter* was nurs'd by a Sow, ( say some ) and conceal'd by the noyse of the grunting: and therefore with the *Cretians* his Country men, there might be no initiation without it. 2ly *Varro* \* saith, *pecoris immolandi initium sumptum a suillo*: that it was the first beast that was Sacrificed, which made some thinke that *ὄς* was so called, *quasi ὄς*, and *Sus quasi Thus*. Nay it was a creature so greatly sacred, ( or imployed to a sacred use, ) that *Sacres* by it selfe, is used for little pigges consecrated for a Sacrifice. The flesh that was wont to be eaten in other Sacrifices, in these was not to be eaten

\* *Clem. Alex.* in *Strom.*

\* *Arestoph.* in \* eaten at all, except it were by the wormes and the fish. For  
*Lufst.* either they buried it in the \* ground, or else threw it into the  
 \* *Enstasib.* in Sea: as *Talsbybius* did the Sow, which was sacrificed at an oath  
 11. γ. of *Agamemmons*.

## CAP. VI.

## De juramento Parvo &amp; ejus ritibus.

**M**ικρός ὄρκος, or the little oath, was when they swore by a  
 creature ( and their gods were hardly so much ) such  
 as per *Cramben*, or by a Goose or a Dogge, *κύνα* or *κῆρα* as the  
 Socratics did, having that practise commended to them by  
 their own Master: who as it is in the Scholies upon \* *Aristo-*  
 \* *In Avib.* phanes) in his twelfth Book *ἡς Κεντικῶν*, had told them that  
*Rhadamanthus* the justest man that ever lived, bad expressly  
 forbid them to swear by the gods; but instead thereof had  
 allowed them the use of a Dogge or a Goose, or a Ramme,  
 or such like creatures. Sometimes they swore by the ground  
 they stood upon, as \* *Hippelismus* does, in *Euripides*.

\* V. 1025.

— πῶς χερσὶν ὄρκου.

Sometimes by their Nets, or by any other thing which they  
 made use of. If the matter were serious, you might hear  
 them swearing by their right hand, or by their head, as he  
 does in *Virgil*.

Per Caput hoc juro, per quod Pater anse solebat.

Which was the reason ( saies *Athenæus* ) first, why they ac-  
 counted the head *ἱερόν*, holy and Sacred. 2ly Why they did  
*προσκυνοῦν τὸν κεφαλὴν* bow the knee at a Sneeze. 3ly Why the  
 old Philosophers made such a scruple to eat of the head of  
 any kind of creature. And 4ly Why they used this oath but  
 seldom, accounting it *ἀγρὸν ὄρκον*, as *Helena* called it when  
 she swore to *Memlaus*, though it were by his head, and not  
 her own, *ἀλλ' ἀγρὸν ὄρκον σὺν κεφαλῇ κατὰ ἑαυτὴν*.

*Eurip.* in *Hel.*  
 v. 841.

The

The Customes used both in the Little and Great oathes too,  
 in abjuring and purging of crimes, were sometimes, cree-  
 ping upon their hands thorow the fire, or holding in their  
 hands a red hot Iron, (*μυσθὸν* they called it, such a thing as  
 \* *Anaxagoras*, and his Scholler *Euripides* \* took the Sunne to  
 be ) supposing ( as the Scholiast saies upon *Sophocles* ) *ὅτι οὐ*  
 ἀνόχως τὸν ἀσπρῆματι ἐν τούτοις οὐ ἀγρεῖν, that if they were not  
 \* *Schol Eu-* guilty of the crime, they should not be sensible of the paine. Thus  
 \* *rip. in Hel.* the fellow in *Antigone* would have taken his oath to *Cre-*  
*on*, that he buried not *Polynices*. The like custome, we read  
 to have been in use among the Saxon ancestors, and for the  
 same purpose, under the name of *Fire-Ordeal*. For *Emma* the  
 Mother of King *Edward* the Confessor, passing blindfolded  
 in the spaces between a great many red-hot Plow-shares  
 laid on the ground: & *Kunigund* the Wife of the Emperour  
*Henry* the second holding a red-hot Iron in her hand, recei-  
 ving no hurt thereby, cleared themselves of the crime of  
 Adultery laid to their charge. Sometimes they took the  
 Iron and threw it into the Sea, solemnly vowing to keep the  
 oath without breaking, as long as the Sea should the Iron  
 without swimming.

— \* *αἰχμὴ τὴν αἶνρα* \* *Callimach.*

*αἶσας σὺν αἰσ μυσθὸν*. Sometimes ( as I have known Boyes doe  
 among us ) they wrote the oath in a Paper, and threw it in-  
 to the water: if it swamme, and the water could endure it, he  
 swore true; but if it sunk, and the water would not suffer  
 it to be seen, he was to be punished immediatly without more  
 adoe. And this puts me in mind of that oath of *Adraftus*,  
 and the *Argivi*, for amity and League with the Athenians,  
 which the Poet saies they would have written in the hollow  
 of a *tripus*, and the *tripus* to be sent to Delphos to *Apollo*, to  
 be there kept for a testimony, and a memoriall.

Μνημεῖον δ' ὄρκου, μαρτυρία δ' Ἐννέδ

to be produced when occasion should require. So *Achilles*  
*Tatius* ( in his 8th book *de Clitophontis*, & *Leucippes ammori-*  
*bis* ) speaks of a custome, if a Wench were accused of  
 Whore-

Whoredome, to have her make a formall oath of deniall, and having writtén the oath in a table, to stand in water up to the shinnés, with the table about her neck. If she were chaste, and had sworne true, the water remained as it was: but if not, τὸ ὕδωρ ὀρρίζεται (saies he) the very water growes angry at it, and never leaves swelling, till it get up as high as her neck, and cover the table; least so horrid a sight as a false oath, should look the Sun and the World in the face.

## CAP. VII.

## De perjurii religione.

**I**F a man made a conscience of sweating aright, he was counted religious indeed. Inasmuch that εὐορκίαι, was commonly used for εὐσεβείας,

Οὐδὲ τις ἐν ὅρκῳ χάρις ἔσται τε διὰ τοῦτο. in Hesiod.

\* In Plat.

and --- τί τι χεῖρες ἐν ὅρκῳ ἔσονται. in Aristophanes. Whereas on the other side, when they expressed a very wicked man, they made use of the word ἐπιόρκος perjurious. And therefore Aristophanes (in nubibus) speaking of Jupiters lightning and thunderbolts, which some said, that they did more hurt to the wicked then to others, saies he εἴ πορ βάλλει τὸ ἐπιόρκος, if perjur'd men are only lyable to be struck, how comes it to passe that Cleonymus and Theodorus escape so well? or that the poore Oake tree is so often hurted? ἢ δὲ σπὺς ἐπιόρκου since it can never be perjur'd. Such as were common & customary swearers, for ill making, as well as for ill keeping of oathes, were branded with the name of Ἀρδιστοὶ from Ἀρδιστής (saith Hesychius) the place where the oathes used to be administred. Now for the punishment of such vile persons, they supposed the furies every fifth day to have a visitation, & to walke the round, for no other purpose: according to that of \* Hesiod.

Ἐν πεμπτῇ γὰρ ἑλάντους ἀμριποθέουσιν

Ὅρκον πινυμένας---

\* In Dich.

and

and therefore Agamemnon when he swore that he never had to doe with Briseis, called the Furies to witnesse too, as well as the Earth and the Sun.

--- Εἰρινύες αἰδᾷ ἑσὶ γαῖαν

Ἀρσάπας πίνων, ὅστις κ' ἐπιόρκῳ ὁμῶσιν

Nay in some places, the insensible creatures seemed to be sensible of the sinne and save the furies a labour. For I have read that in a Temple at Palice a City in Cicily, there were certaine crateres or fonts, out of which there rose sometimes flames, and sometimes hot boyling water: and that thither people used to resort from other places, for deciding of Controversies by taking an oath. For if any one swore false neere these fonts, he was presently stricken blind, or lame, or dead in the place. Besides these there were other meanes of their own appointing to affright men from perjury. Such as that of the image of Jupiter Ὀρκος, πάντων ὑπόστα ἀγάλματα διδούς ἑκκαλῆεν ἄδικον ἄνδρα, which they made in the most dreadful manner of any viz. with Thunderbolts in his hands, and a plate of brasse at his feet, on which were engraven certaine Elegiacall verses, composed of purpose to terrify such as durst to invoke that god in falsehood. All this moved the Lacedemonians little or nothing, if that be true which the Poet said of them.

Pausan. in Eliac.

Οἷσιν ὅτε βασιλῆες τις ἔδ' ὅρκον αἰνέει.

Which you will say is very likely, if you remember the saying of Lyfander, one of their own generallls, ἑξαπατῶν χεῖρας πῶς πρὸς ἀσφαλείῃς, πολεμίας ὃ ὅρκους, fallere oportere pueros a stragalis, hostes autem iuramentis.

O o

SECT.



## SECT. II.

## De Ritu Convivendi.

## CAP. I.

## De Leschiis, &amp; de tempore vittæ capiendi.

**W**Hat ever they talke of *Atticus moriens* porrigit *mannum*, ( as if an Athenian were charitable, and so be died ) for my part, I have found him to be of a very good nature, both to the Stranger, and the Poore, and among his companions as merry as a Greeke. Of the goodnesse of the Athenian natures, I can give you two or three very pregnant testimonies, whereby I shall make it appeare, how tender hearted they were, not only to men in *philanthropy*, but even to Brute Beasts. For the first you may heare it from *Demosthenes* his own mouth, whom, as he was going into Exile ( a time not so safe for such expressions ) they brought going on the way, and carried every one something under his arme, to furnish him for his journey, in so much that at parting he cryed out Πῶς εἶπεν δυνήσασθαι παντί τινι ἀπολεμῶσαν πόλιν ἐν ἡμετέροις πυγχαῖναι ἐχθροῖς, διὸς ἐν αἰνῇ ἀλλοτρίῃ φίλους εὐρίσκει. How shall I endure to leave such a City, wherein the very enemies are as good as a man can find friends any where else. For the last you shall have two pretty instances, as I had them from the same Author. The first is of an *Areopagite*, whom they expell'd the house for killing a Sparrow which being pursued by another bird fled into his bosome for shelter. Ὡς ἐν ὁσίᾳ δεσφύ-  
τη

in. (saies he) as if he had not done righteous things. ἐν σφῶν ἁ-  
νεν ἡ δ' ἰταμῶντι & ἡ τερπῶνι, not so much out of love to the Sparrow, as hatred to his conditions. The last is of one *Praxiteles*, whom for skinning a Ram alive, they punished much after the same manner, as the Ramme was ἀπυμῶντος. The goodnesse of his nature among his companions, appear'd either in eating and drinking, or merry talking, and discourse. For there is εὐαχὴ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, saies *Theophrastus*, good cheere in words, as well as in meat and drink. *Aristophanes* calls it φαγεῖν τὰ ῥήματα eating of words, *Plautus* comedare sermones. And it may be they might be made sometimes to eat their words indeed, if they prated so much as by all mens report they did. For they were so λογιῶσι ( as the character termes them ) so employ'd ἐν τῷ σπείρειν τὸν λόγον, in disseminandis & spargendis rumoribus; and were so much given to spend their time in nothing else, but either to heare or to tell some new thing, \* that I wonder with what face, they could call St. Paul Σπριμολόγον. Though I know some doe rather chuse to fetch the word from λέγειν to gather, as the Scholiast on *Aristoph.* interprets τὸ Σπριμολόγος to be τὸ πᾶσι τὰ ἔμπροσθεν καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς διατείνοντα καὶ τὰ ἐκ πορείων διαπύρροντα ἀναλερμένους, such as watch for loose things that drop out of carriages, and gather them up. The places where they met and discoursed were either the Baths, or the Vaults, and the Porches for the better sort: or Trades-mens shops for the meaner, like the Roman *Taberna*; Nulla *Taberna* meos habeat, nec pila libellos. Their meetings in this kind, but especially those in the shops and the places themselves, and the confabulations therein, they call'd λέγας: κακεῖναι λέγαι saith *Enripides*. And yet *Sophocles* in *Antigone* durst call the convention indicted by the King, by the name of λέγας too. Now those shops were commonly Perfumers or Barbers, whence the proverb κυριακή αλλία used by *Polybius*, i.e. Barbers talke, ( as we say ) Like like a tooth drawer. ) But especially Smiths, and such as made use of a Fire; being free for any that would warme themselves

*Theophr.*

\* Act. 17. 21.

selves, and without any doores, as the Scholiast upon those words in *Hesiod* l. 2. Concerning χαλκείον θῶκον &c. Τὸ παλαιὸν (saies he) τὰ χαλκεία καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐργαστήρια τὰ πύρροντα ἀνὰ τοὺς ἑσπέρους ἐκάλουν. And to this belongs that of *Homer*.  
 οὐδὲ δέλεος οὐδ' ἐν χαλκῇ τενεὶς δέμον ἐλθῶν  
 ἦσπερ εἰς λέχλιν.

II. O.

The discourse was for the most parte de *Lana Caprina* (as they called it) or de *Gerris Siculis*, childish & Idle, well besitting such *Geruli figuli*, as most of them were. But the Philosophers that met in the λέχλι which *Hierocles* speaks of, had better discourse. These places were consecrated to the honour of *Apollo*, who is therefore said to have the name of Λαχνηοῦ (so saith *Suidas*; but it should be rather Λαχνηόριος, saies *Meursius*.) the reason was, because such meetings were, or should be in the day time: and sometimes in the *Sunne*.

Their merriment in eating and drinking, at a set meale amongst themselves, was anciently, but once a day at supper (as it was with the Romans.) but afterward more often, and how often (for ought I can find by the Scholiast upon *Homer* in severall places) it is not easy to determine. Some say, there were foure meales a day, viz. 1. Ἀκρότισμα or διανησιμίδας, the *Break-fast*. 2. Ἀριστον, the *Dinner*. 3. Δείπνον, the *Beaver*. 4. Ὄρπον, the *Supper*. Just so many *Atheniens* has, but in this order, viz. 1. Ἀκρότισμα. 2. Δείπνον. 3. Ἐσπέριασμα, or (*Vesperna*) 4. Ὄρπον. Others make but these three. 1. Ἀριστον. 2. Δείπνον. 3. Ὄρπον. You see that Ὄρπον, is the last meale still, and so it is in *Aristophanes*, who after ὀρπνός supper time, makes it to be presently *Bed-time*. To any of these meales if they came to late, they called it παρδεννείδης, or παρδεννείν. Which they need not feare, if they had a bell to call them, as *Plutarch* saies they had in the *Fish-market*, and therefore termes those, whose bellies had no cares, but for the *Bell*, καὶ δόγας ὄρεται.

In Vesp.

Sympos. G. 4.

ἀκρότισμα.

CAP.

## CAP. II.

De ritibus &amp; variis modis convivandi.

Their merriment with others, was when they kept a feast. And thus to spend their mony, was especially called ἵνα λίσκην, and δαπανᾶν: and the merriment it selfe, by the name of\* ἡσθη. Which made *Homer* bring in *Hebe* ministring to the \* *Schol* in *A* gods at a feast; and from whence ἐπίσθως came to be used for *risti*. *Vesp*. a little cup to drink healthes out of. Now a feast was of three \* kinds, 1. Ἑσπέρια 2. Γάμος, 3. Εἰλαπνών. Ἑσπέρια, or \* *Eustathius* therwise called \* συμβολὴ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ συμβολῆς ἦσαν καὶ καταβολῆς καὶ \* *Aristoph*. & δαπάνης πολλῶν πνῶν, was when they joynd or club'd for it, *Schol*. and every one brought his *Symbolam* his part, or else lay in his *Symbolum*, his pawne, or his earnest with the master of the feast. The earnest was commonly a ring, as *Terence* saies, *dari annuli, locus, tempus constitutum*. And sometimes any other thing: which he that laid out the mony for the feast, if he were not paid, or the party did not come, had power to sell, or doe what he would with it. The reason why it was not so costly, and those that were at it, did eat so sparingly, ὡς αἱ ἰσθον ἐσθόντες\* ἔλασσε, was because every one brought his own proverder with him, and from thence they were called ἀντίδουτοι \* *χ. ibid*. *Sodales*. Sometimes they call such a feasting κατάβολος, from \* *Festus*, joyning as we say, or *clubbing*, or *casting* every one his *los* into one purse. καλῶν καταβολῆς, ὅταν κοινῶς ἰσθόντες δαπάνην συμποσίαζων, saies *Tzetzes* upon \* *Hesiod*. And so likewise sometimes ἀπὸ σπειδῶν δείπνον, from σπείρειν, because the charges came scattered, or sown by severall hands, which is resembled very well by the *Sportula* instituted by *Nero*. Lastly ὁ θιάσος (they say) has been used for the same, θιασῶται for *Athen*. l. 8. the company.

Of this way of Feasting, you have a brieve and large commendation in *Hesiod*.

Μηδὲ πολυξείνῃ δαίτῃς δυσπρόφερτον ἔστι.

\* Εἰ καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ χάρις δαΐτῃ τ' ὀλίγη.

Be not averse from common feasts; for there

The charge the least is, and the most the chere.

Sometimes you should have a Covetous fellow make his γάμῳ, his very wedding dinner, in the manner of an ἐγρῶ; and every one that comes must bring his part with him, and be δεινόσπετος, (as Plutarch calls the Souldier that goes a Warfare at his own cost.) This kind of feasting (I thinke) may very well be named πανδαγία, for \* that is either when there is meate of all sorts, or when is it brought to every man, or when they sit highly pigly, and every one takes where he likes. Εἰλαπίνῃ (for of γάμῳ we have spoken already) used to be a little more costly πολυτελής. It was thus called either, 1. From λαΐντεν the lapping and tipling in it, or, 2. From their gathering together, or sitting in companies; ἢ καὶ εἶλος, ἢ ὁμοῦ ἐλέγματοι ἔπρον, or 5. From εἶλος, the vertigines or rounds used in dances, \* εἰ δαὲν ὕποχρῆσται ἴλαι.

The company at such a feast were called εἰλαπναστί. Contrary to the manner of the Romans, the poore Women were left by themselves alone in the γυναικαὶ-τιδες, unlesse it were to accompany some of their very neare friends: according to that of Cornelius Nepos, in the beginning of his book: *Nam neq; in convivium adhibetur nisi propinquorum, neq; sedet nisi in interiore parte adiu qua gynaeconitis appellatur, quo nemo accedit, nisi propinqua cognatione conjunctus.* The usuall customes in feasting were these. 1. The number of the company was not above thirty, and if there were more, there were certaine officers, appointed for the purpose to discommon them: and to them the Cooks were to repaire, to be examined concerning the same. Besides those Officers, there was an ὀνόστης too, to see how oft, and how much every one dranke. And if it appeared that a man was any way ἀσωτῶ or intemperate; he was to be punished by the Ἀρεοπαγία. Which perhaps gave occasion to the Drunken unthrifits of those times, to call the Greeks μνηστῆρες.

a In Crass.

\* Schol in Aristoph. Pace.

\* Pindar.

ξῆς, and φουλυτῶγας, as if they were niggardly in their diet. But if they were indeed such bite-figures, and cummin-cutters as they make them, how came it to passe that Cookery was so much in request among them; (σημὸν καὶ ἡ μαγειρικὴ), it is an honourable profession saies Asbenau) or that the skill in \* L. 4. Physick, Astronomy, and Geometry, was thought so requisite to that art: or that in ancient time, the Cook should be one of the chiefe officers at a Sacrifice, as they say he was the Last indeed very convenient, since a Sacrifice and a feast so well agreed that commonly either the latter followed the former, or instead of invitations they sent their friends a peice of the victim.

— καὶ τὸ δ' οὐτως

Ταῖς Νύμφαις. Μέρσονι καλὸν χρεὼς αὐτίκα πέμψας.

— as soon as you

To the Nymphs have offer'd, give to Morson too.

### C A P. III.

*De more salutandi, Symposiarcho, Coronis, unguentis, modo accumbendi, & de mensis.*

When the guests were come, the manner of salutation for little boyes (if any came) was to take them by the eares, as one would take a pot, and kisse them; and such a kifs as this they called χύτρα a pot. The fashion of kissing the Pollux. l. 9. lipps was but of latter daies, and osculum may be osculum upon c. 24. any thing so it be from the mouth. Anciently they used to lay their mouth upon the eyes, and sometimes upon the head, or the shoulder, or the neck, like the Jewes. Sometimes they went no higher then the hand, with an embracing of the body. As Xanthus desired to doe to Ion.

ὅς χρεὼς εἰλημὰ μοι σῆς, σῶμα σῆς ἀμφὶ περιεῖς.

Eurip. Ion. v. 518.

Embracing was the most usuall salutation. Inso much that (if you will believe the \* Scholy) the word ἀσπασαῖς used to \* On Aristoph. signify to Salute, does properly signify to embrace, as being Plus. derived

derived (saies he) *ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγῶνι* *ἐν αὐτῷ* *τῷ πινεῖν*. The compellation to such as they respected was usually *κύριε*, *vir honeste*, *worthy Sir*, rather then *κύριε*, *Domine*, or *Master*.

— *ὅς ἐν τῷ πινεῖν τῷ κύριε*.

Eurip. in  
Supl.

Till the meat came up, the Guests spent their time, in observing and commending the conveniences of the house, and the household-stuffe, & the like, according to his instructions in \* *Aristophanes*.

*ἔπειτα τὸ πάλαισιν τιτῶν χαλκαμάτων*

*ὁ οὐρανὸς δέσποται*—

The *Διπνοκλήτης*, the Master of the house, shall I say, or the Master of the Feast? or rather the founder of the feast; (for *Συμ-ποσίαρχος* the *Master*, was many times no more then a Master-Steward, or \* *συμποσίσις ἐπιμελητής* the Caterer chosen by a company at a Collation) presently had his *γεγευμαῖος* brought him in by the Cooke i. e. a note containing the severall sorts of dishes which they were to expect. Now in some feasts, to carouse it (according to the manner of the Roman *Modiprator*, and the fashion yet in use in Italy, and among us upon *Twelfth-day*) they threw lots who should be *Βασιλεὺς* King; and he to whose lot it fell, was to have the whole command of all, for matter of drinking, or ceremonies, without any restraint. Which sometimes proved too *tyrannicall*: as it did in him in *Diog. Laertius*, who commanded a fellow *πίνειν ἢ καταχεῖναι τὸ κραδί* to take the drink in his mouth, or have it flung in his face.

All the while that the feast lasted, they kept burning of Frankincense and Myrre upon the hearth. Either that the sense of smelling too, might have a taste of the mirth, (*ἐνδύσας* for \* *smell-feast*) or else to stop the mouthes, and the *ἀγρύ νῶτες* of the gods: to whom, before they eate any thing themselves, they used to offer a taste of the best of every dish. But how they did it I know not, unless they threw it in the fire as *Patroclus* did.

— *ὅς δ' ἐν πρὸς ἑαίῃς θυλάξ.*

The

The Guests before they sate downe, used to crowne their heads with Garlands, made for the most part of Myrtle. for so I remember the bold ghuest in *Euripides*, calling and commanding for his drinke. — *πρὸς δ' ἐξ ἄτα μυρσίνοις κλάδισι*. bound his head with *Myrtle-boughs* to secure it from aking. and the Romans it seems agree with them herein, for saies *Horace*, when he went to be too merry,

*Nunc decet aut viridi caput impendere myrto.*

The use of these Garlands, was to coole the head, and so to restraints the heat of the Wine. neither did they crowne their heads only, but anoint them too, as if they had been going to wrestle with the strength of the liquor: for so says *hee* in *Vespis*.

— *μυρσινῶς*

*ῥγες ῥυτῶσιν σταυτῶν.*

Ovid and the Romans knew of this too it seems.

— *habent uncta mollia serra coma.*

Using it as they did, either to keep the fumes and vapours from coming altogether; or to open the pores, and let them out as soone as they came. for the same end was it, that the hearb *crambe* was so much used in their feasts, as it was also among the *Egyptians*. and very likely it is to have a virtue that way, in regard of the antipathy said to be in the nature of it, to the nature of the Vine, so great, that it will not endure to grow neere it. which antipathy (they say) has been in it ever since \* *Lycurgus* (a King of *Thrace*) for cutting downe all the Vines in his Kingdome to prevent drunkenness, being bound by *Bacchus* with Vine-twiggs, to be thrown into the Sea, in crying, let drop a teare upon the ground, out of which teare presently sprung the *crambe*. so called quasi *Κοεγμῶσαν*, from *Κόεσι*, or *Papilla* the *Apples*, or the *Babies* (as we say) in the eyes, to which 'tis thought to be hurtfull.

Besides anointing, there was washing too, both before and after meat. that before, had a peculiar name of *ὑδρὸς ῥγες*: the other they call *ἀντιπῶσας*.

P p

Their

\* *Vespis*.

\* *Pollux. l. 2.*  
c. 1.

C. 8.

\* *Athenens*  
DN

IL. 10.

\* *Καταφυγῶν*  
*τες τὸ κέρδιον.*  
Saies the  
Scholiast upon  
*Aristoph. in*  
*Avid.*

\* *αφ. On Ari-*  
*stoph. in Equit.*  
*ΑΗ. 1. Sc. 3.*

\* Poll. l. 6. c. 2.

\* Aristoph. in  
Eq.

\* Il. 10.

Their posture at eating was lying upon κλίναι beds ( imitated by the Roman lecti ) with a κλινδοσ a mat \* close by , which had bed clothes and all to sleep upon. Those κλινδοσ were usually covered with skinnies : according to that in the \* Poet of one that lay snorting upon a full belly.

Εὐχεται κλινδοσ ἐν ταῖσι βύρραις ὕπαιθρ.  
And sometimes with Tapistry , for the better fort: for with such Achilles his Embassadors are entertained in \* Homer,

— τὰ πᾶσι τὰ παρρηγυῖα The manner  
of lying was on their sides, and leaning upon their elbows. And therefore Silenus, in Euripides, bids Cyclops ( when they sate at meate upon the ground ) ὅς τ' ἢ τὸν ἄγκωνα ἐνυδύας, to place his elbow handsomely. They rested their feet upon a σπῆνς, or a foot-stool: such a one as Juno would bestow upon Somnus for the same use.

Τῷ κὼν ἐπαγγίλεις Νίπας δὲ πόδας εἰλαπνύζων.

And yet I remember one in the Poets Vespæ, asking how he should sit, was bid πόδας ἐκτείνειν, to stretch out his knees. The table was ordinarily Tripus. Unless the man were of a high stomach then he that said, Sit mihi mensa vripes: for then it might be of another fashion. But usually it was made with three leggs, and an ἐπιθήκη upon it, called ἑλκῶ ( in imitation of the Tripus at Dalsphor ) to be taken off, and set on, as they had occasion. Of what fashion forever it was, they used to reverence it with a great deale of religion: so as not to have any uncivill or profane or immodest discourse, as long as they sate at it. For why (saies Synesius) it is holy and consecrated to Jupiter οἶκος, and ἑλκῶ. Which gave occasion to that expression of Demosthenes πῶς δ' αὖτε πᾶσι τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν. And to Juvenals, reverentia mensæ. The \* first that ever dared to profane the table, were the Women that killed Tereus his sonne, and served him up in the dish.

Ep. 57.

\* Π. Ἑξ. α.  
Sat. 2.

Paus. in Phoc.

CAP.

## CAP. IV.

## De Cibo &amp; Potu.

THE Greeks ( they say ) in ancient times, as well as other people, were contented with Maists and Acornes: for their bread at least, if not for their Meat. And there were βαλανίσαι, people employ'd of purpose to gather them. There was no cereale solum, in those daies, no feare of mensas consummum. 'Twas enough for the luxury of later daies, to make paniceas mensas, tables or trenchers of bread. In allusion to the use of this food \* A. Gellius saies that the Romans made their civica corona of Oaken boughes, quoniam cibis victus antiquissimus quernus capi solitus sit. In remembrance of their oaken diet. After maist, they lookt lower and found better food in barley. For that kind of corne was the \* first in use. Afterward, when fine Wheat, and teeth came up, it was made a punishment to use it, as b Snetonius saies, decem annis hordeo pavit. Their way of using corne at first, before that mills came up ( ἡ μύλος, said to be first invented by Mylas ) was to roist it in hot embers, or to parch it upon the hearth: & then pinsere to beat it, and knead it into hard lumps or loaves. Those that did this the Romans called pinsores, which afterwards came to pinifores, bakers. We read of ὅς τ' ἢ τὸν ἄγκωνα ἐνυδύας among the Israelites too, even there where we read of flower, and so it was not for need that they used it. In time it came to varieties: and I also might say a great deale concerning them; as likewise of their usuall dishes at feasts, both of fish and flesh. But you may have enough in Athenam with little paine, and lesse profit. Only I desire to observe one thing, that of all the parts of a beast, the braine might by no meanes be seen upon a table. For they loath'd to eate it, as much as Pythagorean could to eate a beane: and thought that none but he that had lost his senses, would offer to devour that, from which



\* In Trachin.

which all the *sences* had their life. Nay ἐγκέφαλον the *braine*, might not be in their mouths to *speak* it, as well as to *eate* it. And therefore *Sophocles*, when he speaks of *Lichas* his throwing from the rock into the sea, and dashing out his braines, how gingerly does he relate it, calling the braine *white marrow* of his head.

Κόμης ὁ λευκὸν μυελὸν ἐκβαίνει μέσῳ

Κεῖτό τ'—

*Heruba* in *Euripides* speaking of *Astyanax* his throwing downe from the tower by the Greeks, relates it after the same manner, calling it δ' ἔπειν ῥαχύναν φόνον, adding withall ἴν' αἰχρῇ μὴ λόγῳ With reverence be it spoken.

But as for the Entralls, ἰλλῦτες, no dish so common as that: insomuch that you should have some covetous fellowes make a feast of nothing else. Such a feast they called more peculiarly ἑλσον, or καρυεικὸν τραπέzion. The meat was served up in dishes of wood: or of brasse (for the better sort) and every ones portion at his place.

The *drinke* ; which they had at feasts during meale time, was usually wine mingled with water to allay the strength of it. And this mixture they say was the invention of *Amphilyon* ( him whom they report to have first instituted the meeting of the seven Cities called *Concilium Amphilyonicum* ) but I have another story for you from \* *Athenæus*, who had it from one *Philonides* a Physician, and it is this. When *Bacchus* first brought his Vines from the *Reed-sea* into Greece; the people came presently flocking to the Sea side, and fell so immoderately to the liquor, that some became dead-drunk, and some raving mad. Others that came later, being driven away by a sudden tempestuous showre, when they returned againe, found some of the raine mingled with the Wine, which they had left in the cupps, and drinking freely of it, σερυνῶν ὁ αὐτὸν ἔχον ἀπολαύειν, not withstanding found no such effects as the former did, but continued sober. This ( they say ) is the reason that at the first bringing in of the καρυεικὸν, or mixed

\* L. 15.

mixed wine, to the table, they used to remember ἡ Σωτήρ, *Jupiter* the founder of the raine, and the mixture. To which they added the *health* called διδς Ολουμῆς, if the feast were a *villors* feast; and ἀγαθὸν γάμῳ, if it were at a *Wedding*: altering the name of the health, according to the occasion of the feast. And yet *Sophocles* seemes to make the third round to be to *Jupiter Servator* — ἡ διδς σωτήρ

Σπονδὴ τεῖτε κρατῆρες.

Presently after meale came in ἀκρατον the Wine in *puris naturalibus* whereof (it may be) ὡσπόμεα, *promulsis*, or *gustatio*, the first *tast* before they went to eating used to be. The great *Crater* being filled, the *Symposiarch* began a health, either to the good *Genius* ( to whom they meant to indulge ) or to the goodly god that invented the liquor. This health is called *Poculum* not *Charitatis*, but ἀγαθοῦ δαίμωνος; and so to drinke it ἐκπρόσειν ἀγαθοῦ δαίμωνος, making it a religious businesse, as if it were a *Libation* or a drink offering: as he saies Σπονδῶν λάβ' Ἀριστοφ in βεχὺ σπῶσον ἀγαθοῦ δαίμωνος. And many times they prayed too, Εἴ, crying out εἰ δαίμων ἀγαθός. Some say, this health was at the beginning of the feast. But they did but sip at it, and therefore *Hesychius* interprets ἀραβιδωμονισαὶ for ὀλιγοποτισαὶ, *little drinkers*. The last health of all, which they drunke just as they \* In *Uesp.* went to bed, was to *Mercury*, as to the god of sleeping and dreames

— Ἀργεφόντῃ

Οἱ πῦματόν σπένδοντες.

for that was the reason ( saies *Athenæus* ) δὲ καὶ δ' Ἐρμῆς ὕπνου σπονδῆς εἶναι. Yet some say it was διδς τελεῖν. Ἀσπίς, the bottle or vessell out of which they filled the Wine, was usually made of the skinne of a Boare. And therefore in *Lysistrata* ( *Aristophanis* ) it is called by the name of Κάρπης, and the Wine αἶμα blond, and the powring it out σφάγια slaughter, as if the Goat were a killing but then.

When one friend drank to another, they called it φιλοῦται στον κύλικα, or φιλοποσίειν a cup of good friendship: and such kind of expressions δεξιώσεις, takings or pledgings: according to that

— — χριστέοις θεωρεῖται  
 διεδέχθητ' ἀλλήλους — —

And thus if a great man kept the feast, when he drank to his favourites, he gave him the cup to keep. But if he drank a health to one whom he loved ( ἐρωμένῳ or φίλῳ, his friend or his *Catamite* ) he drank part himself, and bestowed the rest upon the ground. Sometimes after Supper, they would sit up drinking for a wager all the night, and he that could keep himself waking 'till morning, had a *πυγμή*, a cake made of flower and honey for his labour. Just as the women used to have in the *Thesmophoria*. In such mad fits as these, they were wont to have *γέγναι*, riddles proposed : which he that could not interpret, was to drink off his cup. And if any one were weary, he might not depart unless he had leave, ( perhaps it was unless he *took* his leave ) of the Master of the feast, and heare I might easily speak enough of their *Κήρυβοι*, but I think a *little* is sufficient, and *that* I have done already.

Now the cups wherein they drank in ancient time were nothing but Bulls horns, ἐν τοῖς κέρασι, saies the Scholiast upon *Niscander*, ἐὼς ὡς τὸ κερᾶν. Infomuch that the word κερᾶν, to fill drink, seemed to be derived from κέρατα these horns, Scilicet. Hence it was that they used to picture *Bacchus* with Bull-hornes. Nay the *Argivi* made his picture all Bull, which occasioned some to call him down-right by the name of *Taurum* a Bull. And the reason of those phancies was (saies the Scholiast) διὰ τὸ ταυροειδὲς εἶναι πρὸς αὐτὸν. ταυρὸς γὰρ τὸ βοτὸν ἰζῶν for the strange (saies he) or rather the Bull-wood carriage of those that use his liquor. But the best is, *dat Deus immitti cornua carter bovis*. Afterward they grew weary of hornes, and came to their cannes, which they seem to have made of Ivy (for *Bacchus* his sake too no question, to whom the wood belongs) Ποτὴρ δ' ἐν χελιδόνι κλισίῳ κεῖται.

Europ. Alc. v.  
756.

CAP.

## C A P. V.

*De iis quæ à discumbentibus fieri solbant.*

FOR their behaviour at table, spitting and coughing, and speaking loud, was counted uncivill in any but a Gentleman (as we say in the University, that nothing is fresh in a Senior) and to him it was a glory *αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ τῷ*, saies Stobæus, to spit stoutly, or as *Quintilian* calls it; *clarè excreare* as it is among us for great men to sit and eat carelessly. But *paring of nails* was such a *sordid* thing, that no gentility could beare it out. *Hesiod* (as 'tis thought) long since abominated the incivility, or what shall I call it to hit his meaning.

Μηδ' ὑπὸ πικρῷ αἵματι δαίμων ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φέρει·

Αὐτὸν ὑπὸ χλωρῷ τέμνειν αἴθωνι σιδῆρῳ

Not from the five-branch'd greene doe with a knife  
At feasting cut the winterd for thy life.

Their attendance was, every one his *πίς*, or his *Pedee*, to whom they used to deliver τὰ ἀπορορήα, choyce bits, or such dainties as they lik'd best, to keep, or to carry whom with them; but I must confesse it was counted somewhat *base*: and therefore clancularly done, except it were a very high feast indeed, and open house. Those boyes or servants were commonly *Black-moores*; after the fashion of the Romans,

—tibi pocula cursor

*Getulus dabit, aut nigri manus osses Mauri.*

Your *uxoris, portionis*, which we read of, were another thing: as a piece of the Victim at a Sacrifice, or a part of the choicest dishes at a feast, sent by all the company in a publick manner to friends that were absent. For such *Plutarch* reports to have been sent to *Aratus* by King *Antigonus*, when he Sacrificed at *Corinth* and *Aristophanes* (in his *Archarnanes*) by the Bride at a Wedding

Εὐπρόσθετος συνιενός τῆς ταυτῆς ἀξίας.  
Ἐκ τῆς γὰρ ἀξίας.

And

1. Sam. 1.4

в Nchem, с.  
8:10.

or  $\epsilon_{\pi^0} \hat{K} \lambda \alpha$

\* *Coronae  
Convivii.*

The desert consisteth of nuts and fruit, and all sorts of *prophets*. they call'd this service, by the severall names of \*ἐπιμυα, τραγῳδία, ἐμποροῦα, ἐμπεριπλοῦα, καταδρῳα, *Epidorpie mense*. And now to crowne all with dauncing and musick, which *Homer* calls \*ἀσπιδιῳα θυτὸς, (usually accompanied with *zeugiῳα*, merry songs, and *tales* ) because they themselves spent most time in practising it, I shall be bold to spend a little the more in relating it.

C A P. VI.

*De cantu Convivali & Scolis.*

Although *Socrates* in *Plato's Protagoras*, speake against the use of Musick at a *Feast*: and *Enripides* say, it were better us'd at a *Funerall*, to make the Mourners merry: yet you shall find *Xenophon* himselve (in himselve) commending, & *Phe-mius* (in *Homer*) practising the same. Now the custome was when they came to the dauncing and the Musick, (whereas at *Meale-time* lesse cupps would serve) then to have greater, and a fresh bowle (*αετις*) to begin with, for such a one they had at every *change*, if they observ'd that fashion we read of in *Enripides*.

'Εται'

Ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς αὐτὸς ἦκεν ἐς κρατῆρα τε  
 καὶ δὸν λίαν ἐλάξεν, ἀρπαγάζειν χρεόν  
 οἴηται σέθεν σμικρὰ, μεγαλὰ ἐσφέρειν.

\* In Ion. v:  
1177.

The song most common among them was *Harmodius* : so called ( just as *Hymenæus* is from a man of the same name, and as we call our songs *Chloris* and the like ) because it was sung to the honour of *Harmodius* and *Aristogeiton*, the two famous Tyrannicide, that put an end to the tyranny of the *Pisistratide*, by putting *Hipparchus* to death: and of whom it is reported that the strumpet *Leana* ( as *brastia* a name as *Lupa* ) so faithfully loved their bodies, that when she was racked by the Tyrant, to discover their conspiracies, she bit off a piece of her tongue with her teeth, and spit in his face. The beginning of *Harmodius* was thus, φίλοντι Ἀριόδι, ὑπὸ τοῦ Πειστικού, &c. You have mention of it in *Aristophanes* his *Accharnenses*, and his *Vespe*. Sometimes they would have up *Admetus*; or a song to the praise of *Admetus*, ( for most of their songs, as well as those of the *Romans*, tended to the praise of one famous worthy or other. ) It began thus, Ἀδμετὸς ἄβρον ὦ εἵταίρε μάδων, πῶ ἀγαθὸς φησὶ, ὅτι δειλὸν δ' ἀπ' ἴχμ. &c. where you may observe the oppling ἀγαθὸς to δειλὸς. For so you shall find *uaxos*, commonly for a Coward in Heathen writers, who reckoned *virtutum* ( as they called it ) *valor* and *fortitude*, the only *virtue* worthy the name. Besides these two which I have named, you shall find a great many more such in Authors, under the name of *Σούλων*. I will only give you one whole one, made by *Timocreon*, a Poet of *Rhodes*, against *riches*.

Παλας ἡ τυφλὴ πᾶσα  
 μὴτ' ἐς γῆ μὴτ' ἐς ἀπὸ πᾶσι μὴτ' ἐς Ἡτῆρα  
 φανύμεται

Ἀλλὰ τίρταρον τε γαῖην καὶ Ἀχαιοτά  
Δαδ' οὐ γὰρ πάντ' ἐν ἀνδράποιοις κακῇ.

These kind of songs which they called *Strophion*, were first in-  
vented by one \* *Terpander*. They were so called either first \* *Plutarch.*  
de mus.

*Vid. q. in Aristoph. Ran.*

\* Plutarch.  
de mus.

in the finging. For there were *Δικαρχοὺς* (*Dicaarchus*) three waies of finging  
fongs at fuch meetings, the first *καὶ πάντων*, by all together.  
the 2. *καὶ ἕνα*, by one after another in order as they fate.  
the 3. one after another, but *εἰαλλαξ*, not in order, and *καὶ*  
*συνεπατάτῃ*, either by fuch as had beft skill, or by fuch as he  
that fung laft, fhould please to chufe, I fay to chufe; for in  
finging a *Scolium*, as tis properly ufed, this was the custome.  
He that *Scolid* first took him a Mirtyle rod, called *ὀϊστικός* from  
*οἶποι* and *ἔχον* and holding it in his hand like a *thyrsus*, (for  
all the devotion now was to *Bacchus* and to *Venus*.) began  
in any place of *Simonides*, or *Stesichorus*, or *Æschylus*, where he  
had a mind, and continued as long as he pleased. The ver-  
fes which they fung, they called by the name of *παρὰδία*, or  
*παρὰδία*, or *σχηθία*, from the *σίζη*, or the rods, as being *αἴτη*  
*virga*, in the words of *Apulcius*. When he had done, he deli-  
vered his bough to whom he thought fit: and he to whom  
the bough was delivered, was to goe on where the tother  
left off: and thus it went round 'till all had done. And then  
he that was judged by the company to come off beft, and  
have capt the reft, had his *ᾠδὴ* (as they called it) *ἐκείνου*, or  
some fuch thing for his reward. Unlesse they fung fome of  
*Homers* verses, for then both the bough was *Λαurell*, and the  
prize a *Lamb*, from whence they were called *ἀλφειοὶ*, as well  
as *Homerista*. Others fay it was the custome presently after  
taking away, to have a harp to goe from one to another, and  
every one as he was beft able, or as his mind gave him, to  
fing to the Harp, with a bough in his hand besides. A third  
reason of the name is given by *Orum* (a Grammarian): *ὡς* be-  
caufe the eye, and the understanding of those that fung,  
were by over strong drinke become *σκόλοι*, or *ἐκνετραμμένοι*,  
distort

α. Aristoph.  
in Nub.

the Figure *Antiphrasis*, because it was least difficult of any, and *ὡλιγότερον*, consisting but of a few staves. But this etymology in another place of the same book is utterly disliked, τὰ ἰδ' ὀνόματα ἐπὶ τὸ ἐναντιόθεν μετακαταθέν, ὥς τὸ μάλιν, because that Figure *Antiphrasis*, is always by way of Euphemy, to give a bad thing a good name, but never to give a good thing a bad name. Origen (they say) wrote a Poëm, wherein he briefly comprized all such things, as seemed to be intricate and perplexed, and gave it the title of *Scolia*. \* *Pericles* is said to have *ᾠ. Arif.* made his Lawes, in the manner of *Scolies*, I think not for any in *Ran.* obscurity in the meaning, but Poetry in the making.

THE *Σκῆλατος*, is not opposed (though ever it may seeme to be) to that which they call τὸ ὄριον μέλ<sup>ον</sup> (which might be sung by one alone, whereas the *Scolys* could not) so called, not because it was sung *right* along and in order: but either because the persons sung ὁρίσθαι, that is, (as *Suidas* expounds it) *ἀλλὰ ὁ ἐρεῖα* voce, with a long blast, (like the trumpet in *Judges* c. 7. 5.) or because it was sung *ἡρῶμεν ὁρίσθαι*, which I know not what way it was, but that *Herodotus* sayes *Arion* playd after that way upon the *lip*, and *Eusebathius* and *Suidas*, say that *Timotheus* playing after that manner to *Alexander* τοῦτον ἄγε<sup>ον</sup> ἱμῶν<sup>ον</sup> &c. So moved his spirit, that he left immediately to his armes and took them up to fight. Instead of *Scolies*, sometimes you should have hole *Comedies* acted, and then none so soone as *Menander's*.

But amidst all this jollity, to put them in mind of the changeableness and uncertainty of their conditions, (for this they say was the use as they made of them) they had their *septa, oscilla, or oscula*, like those which they use at Rome at the feast *Sigillaria*, or such as *Augustus* is said to have *Suet. c. 83.* plaid with (*calis aut osculis ludebat cum pueris*) things so artificially made with joynts and pins, that in so many throwes they

they would yeeld you a thousand shapes, or *mouthes*, or *faces*. *Petronius* having at a certain feast, thrown those things on the table, presently cry'd out upon mortality, but with an ill intent, viz. to be merry therefore while he might.

*Hæu, hæu nos miseros, quam totus homuncio nilest  
Sic erimus cuncti, postquam nos auferet ævus.  
Ergo vivamus dum licet esse bene.*

And just so the Egyptians us'd at feasts, to bring in the picture of a dead man in a Coffin: for he that brought him in, bid every one *τίς ἐπὶ τέρπειο, ὅτι παρὰ τὸν τοῦτον, τοῦ εἶναι καὶ πίνειν, ὅτι τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν τοῦτον, τοῦ εἶναι καὶ πίνειν*, to eat and drinke, for to morrow he should dye.

Herod. l. 2.

### C A P. VII.

#### De Peregrinis excipiendis.

**A** Stranger, whether you take it for a Guest or for an Alien, so it were not a god, was alwaies had in so religious esteeme at Athens, *ὡς ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν δόξαν ἀνὴρ ὅς ἐστι θεὸς ἢ ἑνὸς*, that (as the Scholie saith upon \* *Euripides*) if any one wrong'd a stranger, he was lookt upon as a profane cursed fellow: according to the Poet himselfe in another place.

\* In Helen.

—Let goe the strangers hands,  
Which being sacred may not be in bands.

\* In Taur. v.  
468.

And good reason; for — *οἱ δὲ θεοὶ εἰσὶν ἀπαρτῆς*  
*ἑνὸς* — all strangers have *Jupiter's* owne Letters of protection: and therefore no *dolus* so *malus*, as *ἐναντιόμην*. Now this esteeme they had, First in obedience to the Lawes of *Zelus* *ἑνός*, or *ἑνός*. you may call him *Jupiter hospes*: for \* *Ovid* in his *Metamorphosis* speaks of *Jovis hospitii Ara* an Altar of his in *Cyprus*, where the unhospitable people, for their brutish inhumanity, are said to have been turn'd into *Cerastus* bullocks. *Jupiter Xenius* as much as he was for the strangers, was notwithstanding better known and honoured then any of the *Jupiters* besides, according to that of *Plutarch*, *ἑνὸς δὲ ποταμῶν*

\* L. 10. Fab. 6.

*ἑνὸς*, as if he had car'd more for them then other people. *Jupiter hospitibus nam se dare jura loquuntur.*

Virg. Æn. 1

I remember indeed once to shew how well he was pleased with that virtue of hospitality, being in his travells in *Phrygia* with *Mercury* lovingly entertained by *Baucis* and *Philemon*, when no body else would receive him, in requitall thereof, he preserved the house from the Earth-quake, and made it a Temple.

2ly In obedience to the Lawes of the City, which expressly *Xenoph.* l. 3. commanded them *οὐκ εἶναι ἄδικησαι*, not to wrong a stranger. And this made *Aristippus*, upon *Socrates* his information, presently to remove to *Athens* and dwell there. Nay saies *Tully* *L. de Offc. Exsecrationibus publicis sancitum est &c.* (speaking of refusall to shew a stranger the way) that command was enforced with the penalty of *publique execrations*.

If a stranger had received any wrong (because they might not be so familiar as to doe it themselves) there were *αἰσχυρὰ*, allowed of purpose to plead for them, as well as *αἰσχυρὰ* to entertaine them. Unlesse you will say that these last officers were not for *ἑνός*, that is *hospites*, such as tarried a while and away: but for *ἑνός*, that is *αἰσχυρὰ*, *inquilini*, such as set up their habitation in the place where they came. For those were made to pay their *μισθός*, an earely rent to the City, the men twelve, and the \* Women six Drachmes: which if they did not pay, they sold them, and put them into the ships for gally-slaves, as not reckoning them *cleanse* corne, and true Citizens, any more then \* *Aristotle*; but only \* *L. 3. Polit.* (in the words of *Aristophanes*) *ἀλυστὰ καὶ ἀνὸν*, the out casts and chaffe, and no more. Even the *Cretians* themselves (as *evil beasts* as they were) seem to have had humanity enough in this respect. Otherwise what meant their *ἐνὶ τῷ τῷ*, two distinct Tables, and a Chamber kept a purpose for strangers? The very Souldiers at the taking of *Troy*, so much valued the hospitality shewed by *Antenor* to *Menelaus*, as to spare his house alone.

\* *Isæus contr.*  
*Elpagoi*

*Athenaus*

I must confesse indeed the *Lacedemonians* heare but ill for their *ἐπιλογία*, and *Lycurgus* his Law against admittance of strangers, but upon certain daies, and their dealing deceitfully with them then too. Which made the Poet (even in *Pace*) brand them with the name of *διεφροσένοι*. Nay it is said how that they never made any *λεωσπέρης*, (as they called it) free of their City, but only two, viz. *Tisamenus* the Poet, and his brother *Hegias*. But still I hope, their *ἐνοί* strangers, were all one with *ἡ βάρβαροι* Barbarians, for whom the word is often used, saies *Herodotus*, and the Scholiast upon *Homer*. For else certainly *Plato* would never have given such commendations of their *Policy*, though it be as proper to the nature of (as we usually take it) *policy*, as it is inconsistent with the name of *πολιτική*, to care most for ones private good.

## CAP. VIII.

## De Hospitibus excipiendis.

IF the Athenians were so kind *πρὸς ἑνούς*, to every stranger, properly so called: what were they (think you) *πρὸς ἰδοξένοις*, to their own strangers (as we use to call it) or to their sworn guests? Those had their *ἀσέβηλον*, or *σύμβολον*, or *tesseam hospitii*, something or other like a ticket, to shew for their quarter when they came: such as *Jason* in curtesly offered *Medea* to help her in the time of exilement.

*ἑνούς τε πᾶσι τοῖς σύμβολ' ἢ δ' ἀσέβητον σ' εὖ.*

So farre were the *ἐξνοδοχοί*, those that entertained guests (you may call them *ἐνός* too, for it is a name for both, like *hospes*, perhaps to shew their neer relation) from so much as suspecting a returne of hatred for kindnesse, that it cost *Dio* no lesse then his life. Who though he were forwarned of an intention of *Callippus* his guest to murder him, took no care to avoid him, *αἰχμηδής*, being ashamed (saies *Plutarch* in his chapter de *Vitioso pudore* φιλαφίᾳ φίλον ὄντα καὶ ἑνόν, to be-

Ware

ware of one that was his friend and guest too. (as if that were more.)

The manner of entertaining a stranger was this. As soon as ever they saw him, *παῖς ἄνθρωπος ἐπερχόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑξωτερικοῦ*, the first care *Pindar.* they had, was to have somewhat for him to eat. *Egredientem illico è navi adduxit ad cenam*, saies \* *Terence.* \* *In Heaut.* When he came to the doore (as some say) they both joynd feet one the threshold, & there mutually engaged themselves to be true and trusty. *Qui recipiebant, & qui recipiebantur veniebant ad hospitium, & ponebant pedē in eo, & confirmabant quod minus non deciperet alium* And therefore *hospes* is said to be derived from *hospium*, or *ostium* a doore, and *pes* a foot. When he came in, they called for the Strangers bottle (as he saies in \* *E.* \* *Enrip* 755. 1. 1. *ἑστρα, ἐκὸν δ' ἐφ' ἑνός*) and dranke to him in a cup of Wine, before ever they asked his name (saith *Athenaus*, *ὡς τῷ ἑνὶ αὐτῷ τιμῶντες, ἀλλ' ὃ τὸ ἐν αἵματι*, as giving him honour, because he was a stranger, not because he was this or that particular man. Now they used Wine, rather then any other liquor (saies the same Author) because they took it to be, *ἀλκυσιόν τι πρὸς φίλων, & ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τῷ θυμῷ &c.* *Power full to warme the affection too, as well as the stomach.*

*Idem.*  
*Ibid.*

The next thing they presented him with, was Salt: intimating their friendship must be so seasoned with good carriage, as it might keep long and sweet. All the time of his being the house, this respect he had. They made their own daughters to attend upon him, to fill drink and the like: nay and to bring him Water in a Basin, and wash his feet with their own hands. As may be proved by severall places in *Homer* both observed and approved by *Athenaus*, who makes it to be an ancient custome *παῖς ὅμως καὶ τῷ νόμος* \* *L. 1.* καὶ τῷ νόμῳ καὶ νόμῳ καὶ νόμῳ καὶ νόμῳ καὶ νόμῳ (saith he) 2. They allotted *ἐξονόας*, Chambers a part from the rest, of purpose for strangers. Which puts me in mind of *Admetus* in the \* Poets *Alceste*, who when *Hercules* comming to his \* *V. 545.* house in a time of Mourning (a thing accounted *αἰσχρὸν*, so unfit

must be seen by the sacred eyes of a stranger (as he there says) was therefore about to be gone againe, replied; no such need, good Hercules, notwithstanding the mourning in the house.

*Χαεὶς ἑστῶτες εἰσὶν, οἷος οὐ εἰσάγουσι* For we have Chambers on the other side of the house which we keep only for strangers, and you shall be there.

3ly When they sat at Meales they had a table also to themselves: as may be conjectured by that which *Orestes* had at his being at Athens.

— *ἔθνη μονοτράπεζα καὶ*

*Πόλεον αἶκον.* —

Lastly they had *τοὺς Κερκιδὰς* places allowed them at the shewes, instituted by *Sphyrmachus*. Therefore to returne respect againe to the people of the house: as at his coming into the Country, he ought to doe reverence and Sacrifice to the Genius of the place, saluting the ground with a kisse

*Cadmus agit grates, peregrinag, oscula terra*

*Fecit, & ignotos montes, agrosq, salutat.*

So during all the time of his being with them, he was to doe Divine service, *τοῖς ὀρχαίοις θεοῖς* unto their gods especially, or the gods of the place: as *Alexander* did at his being at *Troy*: and as they themselves, if they had been from home at their returne, were to doe *θεοῖς τοῖς κτ' ἐνταῦθα* (as *Hercules* calls them) to the *Penates*, the gods of the house. In like manner, at his going out of the Country, when he came to the borders he kissed the ground, and so took his leave of the *Genius*: as *Ovid* saies,

— *dant oscula terra Troades* —

Whensoever the party had a mind to be gone, it was counted an uncivility to detain him. *Menelaus* accordingly practised, and left it for a rule.

*Κρὶ ἔθ' ὅταν παρῶντα εἰλεῖν θέλοντα ἢ πῦμπαν.*

And parting they usually gave *ξενίῳ δωρεά*, or *πρὸς ἔθνη*, some thing or other for a remembrance: or to beare their charges by the way. Besides every man's private benevolence, there was

Eurip. El. str  
v 849.

Ovid. Met. l. 3.

I. J. Hera. v. 609.

Met. l. 13.

was *παιδοχῆρον*, a common Hospitall maintained by the City. Where if any strangers, to whom it belonged, were denied entertainment, they might complaine to the Magistrate and be righted. Indeed a murderer or such like person, they might not by any meanes *πρὸς δῆμον* (as he \* calls it) entertaine him, and give him meat and drink, as being *aqua & igni interdictum*.

## CAP. IX.

### De Pauperibus sublevandis.

AND now in the last place, I have a word to say also, of the good will, which the Athenians bare to the poore. And certainly if they intended no more then the Honour of their City, they would be loath to suffer any to become a begger; \* of whom *Isochrates* saies in his *Areopag.* *πῶς πλὴν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, that he is a disparagement to the city wherein he lives.* To prevent the disgrace, every *ἐταιρεία* or Society kept a poore-man's box, or a common Treasury, for the reliefe of such as came to poverty, and the ranfome of the Captives. Into that box once every month, they used *ἐκφέρειν ἕκαστος, conferre erannum* (as *Plautus* saies *erannum amici contulerunt*) to put every man's contribution; and from thence were the contributors called by the name of *ἐρριμιστῆς* or *ἐρριμων συναγαταί*. He that thus came to a gathering (as we call it) was said *συνάγειν* or *κομίζειν* ἢ *ἐκφέρειν*, as in *Aristotle* (*Acron* l. 2. v. 5.) where he makes this instance of a thing *κτ' ὅπως, that happened by chance*; if a creditor, *ἐνέκα τῷ ὑπολαβεῖν τὸ ἀργύριον ἢ λαθὼν αὐτὸ κομίζομενος ἢ ἐγγίζων, with his Bond in his hand should come to his debtor for money, when he with his roll in his hand, was come to the parish* (as we say) for a collection. Such another contribution was that which they called *ἐργον σασιπῶν*, appointed by *Aristides* for those that assisted him in the Warre against the *Medes*, of which *Aristophanes* in his *Lyssistrate*. If there hapned any controver-

\* That there may be no poore among you, &c. Deuter. 15. 4. So some render

אֶפֶס כִּי יִהְיֶה אִבְיֹן

fy in this businesse, there were *δικαίωμα*, Laws and Writs made for the purpose.

\* L. 9. de Leg. Plato speaks very well of this \* custome, and Trajanus the Emperour in his answer to Pliny approves of it, permitting the use thereof to the *Amisani* (for other Cities had it as well as *Athens*) *eo facilius, si tali Collationi &c.*

Other provision there was besides this *erant*, for their reliefe. For the richer sort were wont every new moone, to make a great feast of Bread, & other course fare for this purpose. Which feast being chiefly intended to the honour of *Hecate*, gave occasion to them to call every course beggerly feast, by the name of *Hecates cæna*. But as bad as the fare was, the person in *Pluto Aristophanis*, took his argument even from thence, to commend the condition of the poore, above that of the rich. Saies he—*ἄρα ἢ Ἑκάτης ἐξέσι τὸ το ποτὶ δαίμα*  
*ἔπει το πλουτέον, εἴτε το πενὴν βέλτιον &c.*

Aske *Hecate* and she will tell which is best. To conclude, I have read that they had a *Lyncæ*, money allowed them out of the Treasury, to pay for *places* at the *Playes* and *shewes*.

## SECT.



## SECT. III.

### De Ritibus Bellicis.

#### CAP. I.

#### De Militibus.

**H**AVING spoken of the customes used by the Athenians amongst themselves, it will be fitting in the next place to say something of those which they used towards their enemies; and after that of those towards either, or both, in Divinations.

The Warlike provision which they made for the defence of the City, was partly this. The young men being Lifted inter *Ephēbos* (which was as I told you, at the age of eighteen) were from that time 'till twenty, ἐν τοῖς ἀειπολοῖς (as they Harpoc. called it) that is, they must be *circitores* or *fraxatores*. Or they must ἀειπολεῖν τὴν ἀειπλίαν φύεα stand sentinell and keep Guards in the Forts, and be employed in the making of Works and the like: according to that of Terence, *Video herilem filium minorem huc advenire: Miror, quid ex Piræa abierit, nam ibi custos publicè est nunc.* The first of the two yeares they kept within the City, but the second they proceeded to the Suburbs, and in token of the degree they had taken, they received of the people a Shield, and a Speare, and a *χλαμύς*,



Vipian. ad O-  
lymp.

Aristot de  
Rep. Ath.

or Coat for a Livery. During these two yeares, they could not be compelled to fight *σεπείον, without the Liberties*. But ever after 'till forty they might. And both the first, and every year after, till the end of forty two yeares, ( as I take it ) they had their own names, together, with the name of the *ἑπώνυμοι*, registred in this manner, *ἡ δὲ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἑπώνυμον*. Such a one in pay ever since such a one was *Archon Eponymus*: to shew how long every man had been in service. Of these *ἑπώνυμοι*, there were twenty two, according to the number of the yeares from eighteen to forty. They are called *ἐπώνυμοι λέξεως*, from the *λέξις ἄρχων γεγραμμένη*, in which they listed their names after they were twenty yeares old; and sometimes *ἐπώνυμοι ἡλικιών*, because they thus kept a note of every man's age: in opposition to *ἑπώνυμοι τῶν φυλῶν*, who were but to keep a note of their Tribes. Now some there were that were exempted, and some that were excluded from that service: the former were such as Custom-holders *οἱ τὸ τέλϑ πείκωντο*, who therefore had the privilege *τὸ ἀτελείης*; or the *χερδαί*. i. e. *οἱ τὸ δονύσχω χερδαίοντες*: *Bachus his Salii*, or dancing Priests. The latter were, *οἱ ὄντες* slaves and all such *proletarians* People who were not to be employed but in case of necessity, nor had the honour *ἐν καταλόγῳ γεγευέντος*, which the others had. For they, as soon as they had taken the oath in the Temple of *Agraulus*, *ἡ κατὰ τὸν τὰ ὄντα*, were listed by the *Πολέμαρχοι*, or Generall ( as many as he *κατέλεξεν* made choice of, after the manner of the Roman *Delectus* ) in the *Κατάλογοι*, or Muster-role, which he kept for the same purpose, having besides that another *Πίναξ* or Table-book, for such as were *Emeriti* out of service, and discharged. After they had been listed by the generall, they were to be listed againe by the under Officer, the *ἱππῶν*, or the foot by the *πολιάρχου*, and the Horse-men by the *φύλαρχοι*. The *ὄντες* were of three sorts. First those more especially so called, such as used much armour, *εὐρυτάτη ὄπλα*, and were *gravis armatura milites*, with their wide Shields and long Spears. 2ly *ψιλλοὶ*, *Levis*

*Levis armatura milites*, such as had little or no Armour, but carried Arrowes, and Darts, and Stones for the sling. And 3ly *Πελαγαί*, a middle sort between both, with their *πλαταὶ* or *σπιδίαι*, narrow Shields, and short Spears. Such as they made choyce of for Horse-men, were to be *δυνατώτατοι* τῶς *χρήμασι* *καὶ σώμασι* ( saies Xenophon ) able both in body and purse, and therefore were to be examined first by the Senate of 500, before they could be listed; and so were likewise the Horses themselves, to try whether they were *λακτιζόντες* *skittish*, or *ψεσθῆεις* ( as the Scholiast calls it ) *Neuse-prose*. And this they did *τὸ καδων* *φόρον*, with a Bell, or a Kettle-drum, or a Pipe, I know not which I shall render it. And now I am put in mind of the *Καδων*, which they used to make a noyse withall, when they did *περιπατεῖν* *Walk the round* to try whether the Guards were asleep or no, which they called *Καδωνοφορεῖν* or *Καδωνίζεν*.

— Καδωνοφορεῖται, πῶς ταχῆ

φυλακῇ καὶ δεσφίαισι

Insomuch that *Καδωνίζεν*, is used for the same with *Πειθεῖν*, to try, or prove ( as in *Aristophanis Batrachis*, ὅτι ποιεῖ καδωνισμό ) and *καδωνίσεν* for *οὐ πείθεσεν intentatum*. ( as in *Lysistrate*, καὶ πείθεσεν πάντα ἐλέγχων αἰς αἰχρὴν καδωνίσεν ἄνδρ τὸ πῆδον περὶ γυμνασίου ) If a Horse had been *πυγμυμῆν* or *Worne and beaten out* with long service, they marked him in the Jaw with the signe of a *ἔχρος* ( a wheele I think ) and gave him his *πυγμύον*; for so they call'd both the mark & the discharge it selfe: whence came the proverbe used by *Eupolis* ὅπως ἴστωμαι ὀρθαλῆς πυγμύον, to give a man his *πυγμύον*, that is his discharge. All their Horses the Greeks reckoned to be consecrated to the Sun, and *Beda* upon the Kings, gives this reason, *Audientes Græci ab Israëlitiis*, ( quos divinas habere literas fama prodebat ) quod Helias currum igneo, & equis igneis sit ad caelestes translatus ( vel certe hoc ipsum inter alia depictum in pariete videntes ) crediderunt viciniam decepti nominis Solis hic transitum per caelos esse designatum, & miraculum divinitus factum commutarunt in argumentum erroris, &c. because.

*lias* once was carri'd up to heaven with *Horses*, therefore *Hellius* or the *Sunne*, must be thought to have horses consecrated to his service for ever after.

The Horse-men, first, some were *δυναται*, that had two waies to fight, with Armour for the purpose, and a boy to hold their horse while they fought a foot (a fashion of *Alexanders* own inventing. 2. Some were *επαγλαρι*, that had two Horses, one to ride upon, and the other to lead: from *αγλαρι*. Their manner of life was very high and stately, for many times they would *σκιμαίνον*, that is, have a *transvection*, or ride into the City in *Pompe* and triumph, with a Coach, and a garment of *Scarlet* or *Purple*, usually called by the name of a *ξυστίς*, as it is these verses.

Ὅταν σὺ κλέας ἂν ἄρμ' ἐλάυνης ἀπὸς πόλιν

Ὅσπερ Μεγαλήνης ξυστίδ' ἔχων

For in ancient time it was counted not below a King, for to ride the Coach-horse, or sit in the chaire. *auriga* then were called *επαγλαρι*, and were better then *παραβάται*, who lookt to the Coach only.

The number of the Horse-men was greater or lesse, according to the number of the people. Otherwise (as *Pollux* saith) every *ταυκαρία* (which was the twelfth part of a Tribe) was to find two.

Most of the *Athenian* Souldiers were *ασιδναι*, and went to Warre upon their own charges, insomuch that they reckond it a very disgracefull thing to be *εραρι*, or *μενέλι*, and to take pay. Concerning a mercenary Souldiers' pay, what it was, because it was so often chang'd, I think I had better be silent. And concerning the habit, and diet of others only this, that a Law made by *Cineas* and *Phryxus*, forbade them to be *εξοδαίους*, *dainty* and to weare long haire, as some say: but (it may be) the latter is to be meant only of their fore-locks, which they were to cut, *ἵνα οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ τριχῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, that the enemy might have no hold fast*, saies *Plutarch* in his *Thesem*, where he saies also that the fashion

I. Poll. l. 8.  
c. 10.

fashion being first us'd by *Thesem*, was therefore called *Θησεύς*.

## CAP. II.

*De Armis quibus vim propulsabant.*

THE first makers of Armour are said to be the *Lemni-ans*, of whom *Vulcan* was the chief workman. The Metall whereof it was made, at the first was *Brasse*, saies \* *Pausanias*; but for want of Iron, saies *Hesiod*.

\* In Lacon.

Χαλκῷ δ' εἰργάζοντο, κίλως δ' οὐ ἔσκε σιδῆρος.

The most noted Armour was the *Helmet*, the *Shield*, and the coat of *Maille*. The most noted thing in the *Helmet*, was the *Crest*, invented by the *Ceres*, and therefore called by *Alcæus*, *Καρρῆς*, λέβηθ. The thing, or the part wherein, or whereto it was fastend they called *σφήκιον*, and to fasten it *σφιμάτω*.

Πλοκαυὶ δ' ἐν χροτῷ ὃ ἀργύρεον ἐκινῶντο.

Homer.

The *Crest* was double or treble, according to the quality of the person. For if he were an *heros*, it might be treble, saies \* *Euripides*, and *quadruple*, saies b *Apollonius*.

a In Orest.  
b L. 2.

Τετραπλοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ βραχὺ ἐκινῶντο πύλην.

The stuffe whereof it was made, was usually feathers, and the haire of a Horse-taile; and thence it is that it is called *ἱππεύς*, and *ἱπποκομὴς* *τριπύλα*, in \* *Theocritus*; and that it is said \* *περὶ τρυφῆν*, when the haire fell off. The other parts of the *Helmet* bare the name of that part of the head to which they belong, as *ὄφρως* the *eyebrows*, and the rest, except the *Penthouse* τὸ γυῖον. Of the *Shield*, both the *matter*, and the *forme*, was of severall kinds, for sometimes it was made of *Oziers* woven together, according to that of *Virgil*.

\* Id. 13.  
c *Aristophan*.  
*Pucc.*

En. 7.

— flectuntq; Salignas.

*Umbonum crates* —

(but then they *Mesoch* called it *ἱππεύς*) and sometimes of wood: but most commonly of raw Ox hides, or of pieces of Leather, doubled or laid



σκυ τει ) as the *Scuta* were,

— τῶν δὲ θυράκων σκυ τει.

Aristoph. in  
Page.

So they say that the Latin word *Lorica* comes from *Lorum*, the dried and tanned hide, whereof it was made. According to that of *Virgil*.

*Cui pellis latos humeros exempra juuenco  
Pugnatori operit.*

The holes where they put out their armes *Aristophanes* calls *θυράκων*, by a Metaphor from the, holes of a boate, where they put out the Oares.

The Colour most in use upon their Armes, Clothes, or Crests, &c. was crimson red, either to make themselves the lesse afraid, if they saw their blood, being used to the colour; or else that the enemy might be the lesse able to perceive it, if they should chance to be wounded. From the *Phenician* colour, the *Lacedemonians* called their Coat ( or Crest, or what is it ) *φοινικίδα*. In allusion to whose red bloody colour, the *P. et in Acharnenses* speaking of having a fellow beaten, till the blood came, thus expresses it.

Μὴ ἐκαταξάνεν ἢ ἄδρα τῶν εἰς φοινικίδα.

Let's curd him, and worke him, and belabour him, 'till we make his skinne like a *φοινικίδα*.

Idem.  
Ibid.

To carry their Provision in, every man had his *γυλιον*, or *ὀφθαλμικὸν σπαρτικὸν* a kind of basket (*fiscinam*.) made of Oziers (*πέγυμα*) with a long narrow neck. And therefore the Poet having used the word *γυλιον*, to signify such a thing, in the same Comedy uses the word *γυλιωχῆται*, to signify men that had a neck as long as that thing. Their ordinary provision was Cheese, and Olives, and Onions. The quantity commonly so much as would serve for three daies, according to that of the same Poet still, and in the same Comedy, where speaking against the troublesome life of a Souldier, among other troubles he reckons in *viz.*

Ἐμπρὶν τὰ στί' ἡμερῶν τριῶν.

Those too often repeated orders for three daies provision.

CAP.

# CAP. III.

*De armis quibus vim inferebant.*

THE Armes, or the Weapons they used to fight with, were in ancient time clubs ( used also for the putting of Malefactors, to death ) called by \* *Homer* *εὐλαγες*, according to that of *Horace*,

*Unguibus & pugnis, dein sustibus; atq; ita porro  
Pugnabant armis qua post fabricaverat usus.*

But afterward they came to Speares, a weapon so highly esteemed, that some would not stick to adore it; as may be gathered by the words of *Eustathius*. ἐν ἀρχῇ μὴ εἰς ὁρῶν ἀκόντιον διὸν τῷ ποσειδέων ἀειδμεν. Where *ἀειδμεν*, some say signifies to worship ( and so they say of the word *numera-re*, used by *Cicero* in his book *De Nat. Deorum*. *Novi ego Epicureos omnia sigilla numerantes.* ) Thus it is reported of one *Phryganeus Alexander* a tyrant, that having killed his unkle *Polyphron* with his Speare, he took it and crowned it with Garlands, and caused it to be adored by the name of *πόλεον*. One would have thought it sufficiently honoured, to be used by Kings instead of Scepters, as *Justin* saith it was: or at most to have a place in the Temple: or else to have been dedicated to a god, as *Plutarch* saith it was to *Pallas*, (because of *πάλλειν*, the proper word for *ἀκόντιον* ) and to be joynted to the statue of the god: for so it commonly was among the Latines especially; whence it came that *hasta mota* shaking of the Speares, so often spoken of by *Livy* and others, was accounted such a grand prodigium. If there were none of this, yet the respect they gave to them will sufficiently appeare, in the care they took of the keeping them. For when they slept in the field they fastned it ἐν σπυραιῖται, which *Pollux* interprets, the butt-end of the Speare, made ( it may be ) with a crosse for the better hold-fast, quasi σπυραιῖται from *σπυραι*. But *Eustathi-*

us faith it was an iron with a sharp taile like a snake, to be set in the ground, and hollow head, to set the Speare in, from *σαυ-ερος*: *Lacerta* a Lizard, which it resembled. When they came home, they set it in a long-wooden case, made of purpose by a pillar of the house.

Odyss. 1.

Εγχεῖν δὲ βέλος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ ἰσχυρὰ  
Διὸς ἐκείνου ἐντολὴν ἐν ἔργῳ —

saies *Homer*, and *Virgil* has the like.

Æn. 12.

Exin que mediis ingenti adnixa columna  
Edibus astat, validam vi corripit hastam.

The custome first *παλαιοὶ* to vibrate the Speare before they used it, to try the strength of it, was so constantly kept, that *ἐγχεῖν παλαιοῖ*, a shake-speare, came at length to be an ordinary word both in *Homer* and other Poets to signify a Souldier. When the Greeks began the use of Bowes, I know not: but it seemes they had such things, and *Hesychius* in the word *ἰσχυρὰ*, saies they made the strings of *Horfes* haire. Swords likewise they had, which they used to hang by their sides, *ὑὰ τελαμώνων* by belts, or strings of leather, as they did the shields: and the strings came over the shoulders as ours doe.

Hesiod.

\* Ὡμοῖσι δὲ ἰσχυρὰ ἀνὰ πλάτους ἀνὰ ὤμων.

What other offensive armes they had I know not. But the Scholiast upon *Euripides*, in one place reports, that about the time of the Theban Warre, they excelled most in the defensive: and that the Barbarians were better at the offensive.

## CAP. IV.

*De ritu excipienſi legatos, indicendi Bellum, consulendi deos, observandi dies, & trajiciendi fluvios.*

As carefull and as cunning as they were in Warlike affairs, I cannot find but that they did *propere sequi quæ paret in choare*, beare a greater affection to Peace: as may appear in

in their honourable receiving of Embassadors, to whom they gave hearing in no worse place then a Temple, \* and their entertainment in the *Prytaneum*. The usuall Ensigne carried by Greek Embassadors, was *κηρύκειον caduceus* a right staffe of wood with snakes twisted about it, and looking one another in the face. Whither this was to affright them from discord, and to put them in mind of the *Serpents teeth* (a seed of dissention sometime sown by *Cadmus* among *Draco's* friends) 'tis but *εὐχολογία* my conjecture, and a bolt perhaps too soon shot to hit the marke. An Embassadors allowance, was two *δραχμαὶ* a day, which they usually called *τὸ ποσέσιον*. If e Peace could not be kept, but they must needs have warre: yet they would be sure to give warning, and faire play, and make Proclamations of their intentions, before they marcht. the manner in proclaiming Warre, was to send a fellow of purpose, either to cast a Speare, or to let loose a Lamb into the borders of the Countrey, or into the City it selfe, whether they were Marching (which *Hesychius* rather thinks to have been the signall before a battle) thereby shewing them *μηλόβοτον* *αὐτῶν* *τὴν ἑστάναν* *ἐπιδεῖν* *καὶ* *τὴν πῶλον*, that what was then a habitation for men, should be shortly a pasture for sheep, and what was then pasture for their own sheep, should be shortly turned to the use of their enemies. Before they set forward upon a March, you will not think how exact they were in preparation considering, and examining whether it were convenient or not, the Gods must be Sacrificed to; the Prophets and Diviners sought to, & all the o'd Oracles and Prophecies concerning the City serch into: for this course the \* Tragedian makes to have been taken by *Demophon* of Athens, upon the coming of *Euristheus*. Then besides this, after the manner of other Nations, Jewish, La.ine, and Per-

ταίμα, *Εὐκλειαν*, *δὲ* *χρηρὴ* *ταῦτα* *τέμνεσθαι* *θεῶν*, *θυσιολογεῖσθαι* *δ'* *ἀπὸ* *μάντεων* *ὑπὸ* *τῷ* *τραπεζίτῃ* *καὶ* *ἐχθρῶν* *καὶ* *πᾶσι* *σωτήρια*, *χρησιμῶν* *δ'* *αὐτοῖς* *πάντας* *εἰς* *τὴν* *ἐλπίδα* *ἡλευθέρου* *καὶ* *ἐκκρυμμένα* *λόγια* *παλαιὰ* *τῆς* *ἐν* *σωτήρια*.

lian, they used to vow one thing or other, to be devoted and consecrated to the gods, in case they prevailed: such as was that of the Tithe of the men to *Apollo*, and many other vows of the like price. Nay the Athenians were so over-lavish in this kind, that once there came an Oracle from *Jupiter Hammon*, testifying the gods dislike of such courses, and commending the frugality of the Lacedæmonians.

In like manner were they superstitious in the observation of *daies*. For as the Lacedæmonians thought it not good to march *ἐν τῇ περσιανῇ*, till the full of the Moone: so neither did they think it lucky either to march *ἐν τῇ ἐξιδνῇ*, till the seventh day of the Month, or to make any Commanders till the new of the Moon. In Marching the Generall used alwaies *ἔχειν τὸ κέρας δεξιόν*, to keep himselfe one the right horne, or wing. The Souldiers but newly entred (*οἱ ὁπλίτερες*) kept themselves *ἐν τοῖς ὑέροις τοῖς κινδύνοις*, in those parts, or those Corpora (as the Romans called them) which were lesse in danger, such kind of service was from thence called *εὐστασία ἐν τοῖς ὑέροις*, and sometimes *τερδρεσία*. When they came to a River, before they went over, they would be sure to Sacrifice by it, which they called *θύειν τὰ διαβατήρια*. No passing without a prayer

— *ὦ ἦ γ' εὐχῇ ἰδὼν ἐς καλὰ ῥέεα.*

The Romanes alwaies observed the like custome when they came to *Petronia*, (a River that runs into *Tiber*) commonly calling the action *Peremne auspicari*.

## CAP. V.

*De ritu Committendi prælium, & de usu tubarum.*

*ἧ. In Eurip. Phen.* **W**hen they fought a Battle, after they had killed a *victim* and lookt upon the gall, then away to the *Torches*. for *πυρρόρες ἀντί σαλπικτῶν*, instead of sounding a Trumpet, they had fellows whom they called *πυρρόρες*, that went before with *Torches*, and throwing them down in the midst between

between the two Armies, gave the signe.

*Prima manu rutilam de vertice Larissæo.*

*Statium Th. 4.*

*Obrudis Bellona facem.*

*Lycephon* in his *ἐχιδνῇ* ἢ *πυρρόν*, and *Pindar* in *ὕμνων* *πυρρόν*, seem to allude to this incentive or incendiary. Now this businesse they might doe safely, and without any danger, *ἀνεχόμενοι ἀκινδύνοι*. For the *Torch-bearers* were peculiarly protected by *Mars*, and accounted sacred, \* *ἱερὰ τὰ πυρρόρα*: insomuch that it became a proverb, when an Army was totally defeated, \* *ἵδ' ὁ πυρρόρες ἴσαθ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ*. Those *Torches* *Euripides* in *Rhesus* calls *πυρρὸς λαμπήρας*, where he saies that the *Achivi* avoided them, that is, refused to fight.

— *πυρρὸς λαμπήρας ἱέρους κλύων*

*ἀδύγειν Ἀχαιούς.*

*Qui elatus es, audiens faces*

*Fugere Achivos.*

(better in my mind then *Qui audiens ignis faces accensas adductus est, ut credat fugere &c.*) Nay, not only when they would signify their intentions to fight with the enemy, to the enemy himselfe: but also when they would signify his approach to others, to have their assistance, they made use of *Torches* too, which they called *φρυκτῆς*. The word rendred *faces*, and you may render it *Brands*, or *Beacons* if you will, for they were made of dry wood, or sticks, that would quickly take fire, as our *Beacons* are. And they had men still who did *φρυκτῆρας* keep *φρυκτῆρας* *Watches*, in the \* *κὶ φρυκτῶν* \* *Towers* or *Forts*, as we doe at the *Beacons*. If the enemy came in the night, they fired the *Brands*, if he came by day, they raised a smooke. But I must tell you, there were *φίλοι* *stroph.* in *φρυκτοὶ* *Torches* or *Brands*, to be lighted upon the approach of *Avib.* their freinds too; as well as *πολέμοι*. But with this distinction, that *φίλοι* were held, or let lye still: but the *πολέμοι* were tossed and shaken to and fro.

But those *Torches* lasted not alwaies. For afterwards they came to make use of *Trumpets*, according to that of *Eschylus* *Σάλπηξ δ' αὐτῇ πάντ' ἐκὼν ἐπέπλεον.*

In-

In Phen.

\* Ἐπὶ δ' ἑσήμεν ὅρσαν  
 τρυφανέην  
 Σάκην γὰρ, ἣ  
 σάκην ἔχον ἀλ-  
 λήλοισιν ἑλ-  
 λειν. v. 830.  
 \* C. 6.5.

In-or accendit still, perhaps in a metaphor from the fire of the *Torches* once in use. The first invention of the *Trumpet* is attributed by the Scholiast upon *Euripides* to the *Tyrreni*, from whom it is conceiv'd to have been first brought into Greece by owne *Archidas* an assistant to the *Heracleide*, as the same Scholiast reports in the same place. *πρῶτος δ' Ἀρχιδας* *συμμαχῶν τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις ἦναι τὴν πρῶτον κλέω σάλπιγγα εἰς ἑλάντας*. And therefore he calls the *Trumpet*, *τρυφανέην*, viz. from the inventors; as the Poet himselfe had done before, both in his *Phenissa*, and his *Heracleide*: where he saies it was us'd when they joyned Battle, and that then it sounded \* ὅρσαν a long blast, like that in the book of *Judges* (but of this word I have bespoken before.) There was a time when Shields did serve for *Trumpets* *concheas*, *sonantes*: and then you might easily construe that riddle of *Theognis*.

\* Ἦν δ' ἄελλαν δαλάσσει δὲ νεκρὸς  
 Τεινικὸς ζῶν φθιγγέων σόματι.

## CAP. VI.

*De Scytale, de Militum penis & premiis & Sepulchrâ.*

\* Παρὰ κα-  
 τὰς ἐν τῇ ἑλάντῃ  
 ὅρσ' &c. Soph.  
*Trach.*  
 γ. In Ari-  
 stoph. Eq.

L. 17. c. 9.

**I**F it went well with the Army in the fight, the messenger that was sent with the newes was adorn'd with \* *Garlands*. In the meane time those that were at home, and continually lookt for newes, used to sacrifice to the gods in the waies, *ὡς ἂν εἰ ἀγαθὸν εἴεν, ἐπένυσαν ταύτας, εἰ δ' ἐναντίον, ἐπ' ἐνέ-  
 λειαν, if it were good to bring it along the way to them, if not to be there in the way and stop it* For close conveying of the intelligence I suppose they had severall waies. Whether they made use of the *Lacedæmonian* *στυλίδην*, I know not. If you please, you may read the description thereof in *A. Gellius* at full: or in the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* in his *Aves*. Where he saies, that they made them two staves or rods *πυλίδης* of a length, one to be kept at home, and the other to be caried by the General

nerall along with him. When they meant to send him any private message, they took a piece of a *σκῆπτρον* a skin, or parchment, and wrote upon it, so as it could not be understood, unless it were rolled upon those staves, and the Parchment and the stave one applied to the other. This *Lacedæmonian* trick (as it seems by the Poet, whether he spake in jest or in earnest, I cannot tell) was imitated by the Athenians, among a great many other things, out of a *Laconomany*, as he termes it, or a humour like that of the English towards the French.

\* Ἐλακνομένοι πάντες ἄδρωσαι τῆς  
 Σκυτῆλι ἐφίρην.

If any one turned *ἀντιπάλῳ* *transfuga*, or betrayed the place committed to him, he suffered death. If he had been *ἀσπράδι*, and *would* not, or *δενδὸς* and *could* not fight for feare, or if *λελοιπὸς* & *τῆξιν*, or *ῥήλαστος*, he had *left* his *rank* or *thyron* *downe* his *Armes*, he was registred, and delivered to the *Heliasta* to be punished as they pleased, and not to come to the Temples, till he had satisfied justice. If they had taken any man alive, they were not to kill him afterward.

\* Οὐχ ἄν τιν' αὐτὰ ζῶνδ' ἔλαινεν ἐν μάχῃ.

Such as were maimed, were to be allowed two *δολοὶ*, saies *Hesychius*: (but *one*, saies *Harpocration*) every day out of the publicke *Treasurie*: but first they were to be examined by the Parliament of *five Hundred*, whether they were *ἀδύατοι*, now *ἀδύατοι* were *οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῖσιν μὲν κατμήνιοι*, saies *Harpocration*, those whose estates came not to so much as three *mina*. Such as were *slaine*, their Children were maintained out of the publicke *Treasure*, till they came to be twenty yeares old: and then they had a *πυροπλῆς*, a *Suit of Armes* bestowed upon them, *ἀναμνησκόμενοι τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔκτιστά τε, to put them in mind of their fathers exploits*, & to keep them from degenerating. They had the honour also *σεπείας*, of having the formost seat at *shewes*. If they buried the party slain in the same place (as they did all at \* *Marathon*-fight) the fashion

\* *Vid* *supr.*\* *Eschines contra Ctesiph.**Eurip.**Heracle. v. 966.**Vid. Supr.**Plato.*

shion was then to make a shield his *Beere*, as 'twas before to make it his *cradle*, according to those words of the Lacedæmonian *virago* to her Son, as she was helping on his shield, ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν, either doe thou bring the shield home againe, or let the shield bring \* thee; nay and to make it his Coffin too sometimes, as it seemes by the saying of *Talthybius* in *Euripides* concerning *Astyanax*.

Ἀλλ' ἀντὶ χάρις, εὐεβόλοντε λαίναν  
ἔν τῇ γ' ἐτάφη παῖδά.

At the buriall, the rest of his company Marched in equi-  
page thrice about the *Pyra*, shaking their Armes, and throw-  
ing their swords, bridles, belts, or one thing or other, into the  
fire or the grave after him. But for the most part, they were  
allowed a publique buriall upon the common charge, at home  
in the *Cerameicus* all together. And then three daies before  
the buriall, the bones being laid up in Tents, upon the buriall  
day, every Tribe brought a Coffin of Cypresse wood and car-  
rying away each one their bones, put them in the ground  
with severall pillars and inscriptions, and one soleme speech  
for all. Such as came off with life and honour, were allowed  
to have their Armes in their Shields, or else placed in the *ἔστυ*,  
and honoured with the name of *Cecropide*, Citizens of the true  
old blood: according to that

Ὁ δὲ καλλίνικος Κεκεροῖσσι ἔδνη' ἔργα.

Sometimes such as had the first fruites ( or the prime ) of  
the spoyle, were adorned with a golden *στέφανος*.

Καὶ τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν στέφανον ὡς ὁρῶς ἔχω  
λαβὼν ἀπαρχὰς πολέμων σκυλιδμάτων.

CAP.

\* Arma super-  
vehiculis quid,  
Thrasibule, tua  
Aufon Ept. 24.

Thucid. l. 3.

Eurip. in  
Phœn.

Ibid.

## CAP. VIII.

## De Trophæis.

FOR memorialls of the victory, ἀνίσταντο ἑσπεῖα, they ere-  
cted Trophies: ( you may right ἑσπεῖα, if you had rather  
follow the most \* auncient, then that which is newest in fa- \* Οἱ δὲ παλαι-  
shion. ) Trophies were usually pillars of brasse, or stone, or οἱ Ἀττικοὶ  
wood. And the wood sometimes olive ( τὰ ἑσπεῖα ἐκ τῆς οἰ-  
καστοῦ ἀνίστανται, saies *Dionysius* ) and sometimes the trunk of an  
Oake.

— Quercusq; trophæis Curva tremens —

Those Pillars among them answered to the *arcus triumphalis*  
among the Latines. Only that might be overthrown; but  
these might neither be taken away, nor restored againe, if  
consumed with age or the like, ὅτι αὐτὰ ἀναλαμβάνειν οὐκ ὀρε-  
ῖται ἐπὶ τὸν δὲ ἐν τῇ \* φιλαπῆχθαιμον, least they should thereby rub  
up the old sore and revive the grudge with their enemies. And  
therefore, saies the same Author, ἐν δὲ παρ' ἑλλησιν οἱ ὁρῶντες ἐπὶ τῶν  
τῶν ἑσπεῖων ἐνδοξίμων, those that made them Trophies of brasse, were  
lookt upon as contentious men, and haters of *Amanesty*. Now upon  
the Trophæe, they engraved an *ἰμνέσμεμα*, declaring the cause  
of the Warre, and the manner of the Victory: such a one as  
*Othryades* wrote with the blood of the *Argivi*. The like in-  
scriptions many times were written upon other things. For  
*Pausanias* having conquered *Mardonius* at *Plataea*, did not  
only at *Byzantium* write it upon the *Cup*, which he consecra-  
ted to the gods of the place; ( as *Athenæus* reports to his dis-  
praise for his arrogance ) but also upon a *tripus* besides, which  
he caused to be made of Gold and sent to *Delphos*, with this  
inscription,

Ἐλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπὶ στρατὸν Ὀλέσσε Μήδων

Παυσανίας Φοῖβον μνηστὴν ἀνέθηκε τούτῳ.

Wherewith the Lacedæmonians being displeased blotted it  
cleane

Plut. in  
Roman.

Stobæus de  
Fortuni.

Thucid. l. 1.



\* Ἐκλήνωντες  
μαχόμενοι Ἀ-  
θηναῖοι Μάεγα-  
δον ἐκτείναν  
b Pison.

cleane out and instead thereof, engraved the names only of those Cities, by whose helpe they obtained the victory. And so when they overthrew the *Medes* at *Marathon*, they caused an inscription to be set up in the vault called \* Ποικίλη.

In *Cicero's* b time (it seemes) the custome of erecting Trophies was left off. And therefore he saies, that the *Thebans* were accused for erecting a Trophæe over the *Lacedemonians*. But instead of them, they erected sometimes Altars, (as *Alexander* did upon the hill *Amianus*;) and sometimes Images to *Jupiter τεθνῶν* (so called from causing the enemy *τεθνῶν* to turne their backs: as the Romans did to *Jupiter Stator*, for causing their own Souldiers to stand to their ground) such a one as *Hyllus* and *Ἰδῆος* (as I told you before of *Ἰδῆος*) good or valiant *Solans* erected.

— Πρώτοι δὲ δὲ, ἑστῶτες καλὸν ἵνικον ἔσονται.

The Spoyles which they took (σκόλα from the dead, and *λάφυρα* from the living) they usually dedicated to the gods, and sometimes sent them to *Delphos*. The common name for such things was *ἀκροθίνια*, *quasi ἀκροθίνια*, saies *Eustathius* as if it were *ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροθίνος* *μαχρὸν πηλὸς*: the same name which they gave to those goods, which Merchants consecrated for delivery from shipwrack (only that then there is a new Etymology, *ἡξί. ἀπὸ θινὸς ἀ λισσὸς ἀπαρχὴς ἀναπτύσσονται ἐξ ἐμπορείας διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ θινὸς σπῶσθαι*, because the things were saved from being cast on shore.) But I rather incline to the Scholiast upon *Sophocles Trachiniae*, who saies those *ἀπαρχαί*, or the first fruits of the spoyles which they Sacrificed to the gods were called *ἀκροθίνια*, because they used to lay the spoiles, which they had taken, together on a heap, and then *ἀπὸ ἀκρῆς θινὸς*, they skim'd away the Cream as I may say, or the *Crop*, or the Choyce to be given back for the gods that gave them. In allusion whereto *Megeira* in *Euripides*, speaking what choyce of Wives she had made for her Sonnes out of *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, expresses it thus.

Εγὼ δὲ νυμφαίς κροθίνια ζῶλω.

*Eurip. in  
Heraccl. v.  
937.*

*In Odyss. 4.*

The Armes which they took, *ἀρμασπο* they hung up for the most part in their Temples, and some times in their owne house, as they did their *οἶνον*, when they left the service, as *Horace* saies:

— *Veianis, armis*

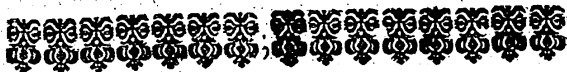
*Herculis ad postem fixis, later abditus agro.*

Some of the spoyles they hung upon the Trophæes, but wrote them \* all. For that was the custome, *τὰ σκόλα πῶς τεσπαί- ας ἐγγράφει* saies the Scholiast.

\* Τεσπαί ἱερῶ-  
ετα πατρώ-  
αν ἔχοντα πο-  
λεμίων—  
*Eurip. He-  
raccl. v. 786.  
a In Phenif.  
Eur.*

T t 3

LIB.





## LIBER SEPTIMUS.

### SECT. I.

*De ritu Divinandi per motum furentem, & somniantem.*



HERE were not many things in use among the Jews the people of God, which the Gentiles *imitatorum pecus*, doe not seem to have imitated; and so *vice versa*. Such as the Prophets were among them, such were the *Magi* among the Persians, the *Chaldaei* among the Assyrians, *Gymnosophists* among the Indians, the *Galleotæ* among the Sicilians, and the *Heuruscæ* among the Italians. Neither was the honour or credit of Divination lesse then the use. For if we may believe \* *Strabo*, Οἱ δὲ μάντις ἐτιμώμενοι καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν, many of their old Prophets have been thought worthy to be Kings. To a Persian King it was necessary, to any other convenient. *Amphilo- chus*

\* L. 16.

*lochus*, and *Mopsus* Kings of *Argivi* were *Augurs* too. *Helennus* and *Cassandra* Children of a King; one was an *Augur*, and the other a *Sybill*. But to a *Physitian*, it was reckoned so necessary, that *Æschylus* has used ἱατρός a *Physitian*, and μάντις a *Prophet*, one for the other, which made *Achilles* in time of the Pestilence, to seek to μαντινὴ for a cure. The Scholiast upon *Homer* speaks of two men, *Melampus* and *Polyidus*, that were excellent in both Professions. Credit it had among the best Philosophers (especially that of Dreames, and *Enthysiasmes*) maintained by *Plato* and the Socraticks, *Zeno* and the *Stoicks*, *Aristotle* and the *Peripateticks*. *Pythagoras* indeed was against *extispicina*, Divination by entralls; and only *Epicurus* against that and all the rest.

Prediction of things to come, was either from men, called *μαντεῖα*: or from the Gods, properly called *χρησίδες* an Oracle. According to that of the \* Scholiast upon *Sophocles*, *χρησίδες* ἢ ὁ θεὸς φωνῶν, μαντεῖα δὲ ἀνθρώπων. Indeed *μαντεῖα* seemes to be the genus, & *χρησίδες* the species. The same Prophecy which when it was spoken by a god, was a *χρησίδες*: when it was delivered by \* men, was *μαντεῖα*. In the Oracles the word was *Fari* (neg, me *Apollo* satis *fandis* *dementem* *invisam* *ciet*: where- as in the other it could be but *presagire* at the wisest. The faculty in the first ἡ μαντινὴ (as we now called it, \* *divergēdas* τὸ τῆς βελόνης) or ἡ μαντινὴ as *Plato* called it (for, as *Tiresias* said, ἡ τὴν μαντινὴν μαντινὴν πάλιν ἔχει) is divided by *Plutarch*, and *Cicero*, into first *τεχνικὴν* artificiosam, that which is acquired by observation and experience, *observatio longo tempore signi- ficationibus* &c. And 2ly \* *ἄτακτον* or *ἄσυνετον* *naturalem*, for which we take little or no paines. These two species are said to be ὁ δίδυμος δίδυμος μαντινὴν, the twins, or the double legacy, which *Apollo* bequeathed to *Jamus* his sonne, and to his Family after him. The naturall or infused faculty of Divination, most properly called *μαντινὴ*, proceeded first ἀ μὸτον *furentem*, from a *Frankick motion*. Which though they took it for a help to prophecy, yet it seemes rather to have been

a In Oed. Tyr.

\* *Ennius*.

*Eurip. in Bac.*  
199.

been a punishment sent from God, who in the Prophecy of *Iſaiah* c. 44. v. 25. Said he would make their Diviners mad. And *Cicero* himſelfe ſaies 'tis very ſtrange, *ut qui humanos ſenſus amiſerit, divinos aſſectus ſit*, that he that hath loſt his own ſenſe, ſhould be able to know the ſenſe of the gods. Hitherto you may reduce the Prophetick ſpeeches of dying men: ſuch as that of *Rhodium* in *Cicero*, who foretold the death of ſixe men that were of the ſame age, which ſhould be firſt, and which next and ſo along Or elle it proceeded à motu ſomnianti, from a doting dreaming motion. And then they called it *ὄνειρεστικὸν*, which becauſe it helps nature forward when it is going already, he that had it is by *Plutarch* compared to a ſtone tumbling down the hill.

The firſt kind coming by *Enthuſiaſme* or Inſpiration, was either of leſſe authority; ſuch as *Cassandra* had; or *Polybius* Propheſying his Sonnes death, as he went to *Troy*; or *Solon* foretelling the tyranny. Or elſe of greater, ſo as to command a beliefe: ſuch as the Sybill women had, or the *Pythia* wench, who delivered the Oracles; which was nothing but a cunning trick, à *vaſtris quibusdam & queſtuariis inchoatum*, invented for gaine. The difference between thoſe two Prophets conſiſted in this, that *Terra viſ Pythiam Delphi incitabat*, nature Sibyllam. *Pythia* had it inſpired, or blown into her out of the ground, and the Sibylles had it by nature. Now, becauſe the number of Oracles, and the ſuperſtition was greater in *Greece* and in *Athens*, then in any other part of the world, It may not be amiſſe to ſpeak ſomewhat of the moſt noted of them, viz. *Pythium*, *Dodonæum*, and *Jupiter Hammon's*.

## CAP. I.

## De Oraculo Pythio.

THE moſt noted of the three Oracles was the firſt. It was called *Pythium*, for the ſame reaſon that the Wo-

man

man was called *Pythias*, d. e. Either from *Pythion* the ſerpent, that lay in the pit, out of which the Oracle came; after ward killed by *Apollo*, who poſſeſſed the place by conqueſt. Or from *Pytho*, another name of *Delphos* the place of this oracle, which came from *Pythius* the ſonne of *Delphus*; the ſonne of *Apollo*. *Delphos* was as fit a place to diſtribute Oracles to all the body of *Greece*, as the *navill* is to diſtribute nourishment to the body of a child. And therefore *Sophocles* calls it *ὠμὸν ἄλλων* *ναυτίων*; becauſe it was *ὠμῶν* the *Navill*; or *Umbilicū* the mid'ſt of *Greece*, ( ſaies *Strabo* ) and not of the *World* as *Ovid* would have it *Orbe in medio poſiti*. And this they came to know forſooth, by the two *Eagles* ( ſaies *Pindar*; *Crowes* ſayes ſome, and others *Swans* ) which being let fly by *Jupiter*, met both in that place. Nay in alluſion to the name of *ὠμῶν* ( by which it was commonly called ) *Panſanias* ſaies there was to be ſeen in the Temple a *Navill* made of white ſtone, with a *Ribband* hanging to it for the *Navill*-ſtring. But *Laſtanius* had rather derive it from *ἀνὰ* the Oracle. And *Varro* would by no meanes yeeld to have it derived from the *Navill*, *quoniam neq; locus iſt ſit terrarum mediū, neq; umbilicū ſit in homine mediū*. But the latter reaſon is defeated by *Vitruvius*, or by any one elſe. The firſt beginner of the Oracle ( ſome ſay ) was *Tellus*; *γενετὴν αὐτῆς γαῖα*; and ſome *Themis*.

The firſt beginning of the Oracle, was after this manner. When the place was a Common, the Goats that fed there, *Diodor. l. 6.* coming to a den very large below; with a little mouth at the Top, and looking in, on a ſuddaine ſaw a leaping and making a ſtrange noyſe. He that kept them ( *Plutarch* calls him *Coretas* ) ſeeing this, ran to the place to know what the matter was, and fell into the ſame frolick; but prophecyed too! And thus it ſared with divers others, that came thither to the ſame purpoſe. Nay a great many, with the breath ( *ἀδύνα ἀνθρώπων*, of *unbeliſſed terra*, as *Cicero* calls it ) that came out of the earth, expired. Inſomuch that afterward they ſet a *Tree* footed

V v



fooled, because forsooth *Æ* Apollo is *λολῶς* crooked there too, as well as in the *Zodiack*, and he must *παραλῶν*, be crabbed in in his delivery, as well as in his gate. 'Tis his use.

*Ambage nexa Delphico mos est deo*

*Αἰετὰ τεγερῇ.*

And indeed if we may believe the Scholiast upon *Æschylus*, *ὁ παλαιὸς τὰ πηήματα αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν ἔα ἀνιγναισι γυγίζαν*, in ancient time they made their verses in riddles. Now the Oracles, were delivered commonly in verse, as he saies.

--- *dicta per carmina Sortes.*

For *Sortes* they usually called them, and the Verse for the most part was *Hexameter*, inasmuch that this Oracle,

*Σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δ' Εὐερπίδης*

*Ἄνδρῶν ὃ πα' τοῦ Σωκράτους σοφώτατος.*

Was thought to be none of *Pythias*, because it was not *heroick* enough to become the authour. \* *Plutarch* saies some were of opinion, that there were Poets kept of purpose in the Oracle place, *ἡτέρας δὲ ὑδρὺς διόν ὕψιστα τοῖς ἡγετοῖς ἀετὰ λέγοντες*, to catch the Oracles as they fell, and wrap them up in verse. But one reason why they delivered their Oracles in verse, or in briefe, and so commonly in obscurity, was because the god *ἐπαυλίζεν ἔτι δὲ δέλει τὸ ἀνιδέον*, not willing to concale the truth altogether, nor yet desirous to make it known, was faine to have delivered in such manner, as no body might take advantage to hurt the speaker, if that answer were not according to his mind. 'Tis true in later times it fell to prose (when it began to fall in the price) and the reason thereof has been sufficiently disputed already by *Plutarch* in a treatise of purpose.

The esteem, which they had of those Oracles, was such; that in times of Warre, when no other Divination could prevaile, it was an ordinary thing to saine an Oracle, to perswade the Souldiers to fight. For they might very well be of *Tiresias* his mind, who though he were an *Enral* gave himselfe, yet in *Enripides* you shall have him confessing to *Creon*, that

*Senecc. Oed.*  
*ΑΗ 2. Sc 1.*

\* *De Pythia*  
*Oracul*

*Polyanus L. 2.*  
*27.*

that men were so apt to speak contrary to what they knew, either out of ill will, or for feare, or for favour, that there was little, or no credit to be given to any other Prophecy, besides *Æ* Apollo's own.

--- *ποῖον αἰδρωτικὸν μῶνον*

*Χρὴ διαπιστῶσθαι, ὅς ἔστιν αἰδρωτικὸν ἔθνος.*

And yet it is cleare, that the Woman or some body else was naught, and corrupted very often. Truly when he had thus commended her for a tell-troth, *nunquam illud oraculum Delphis tam celebre & tam clarum fuisset, neq; tantis donis refertum omnium populorum atq; regum, nisi omnis atas oraculorum istorum veritatem esset experta*, afterward comes in with a *Jamdiu idem non facit*. But indeed, she has not been thus a long time. Nay for three hundred yeares (I think) before his time, *Demosthenes* could complaine she did *φιλαπαινεῖν*, flatter and speak, as *Philip* would have her. Thus one time she was bribed by *Clysthenes*, to perswade the Lacedemonians to free the Athenians from the Tyranny; & another time by *Cleomenes*, to perswade them to deprive his Colleague *Demaratus* of his place. Neither would *Lycophron* call *Æ* Apollo *καρδιδὸν θεόν* for nothing.

But you will say some other body might play the knave, and put it upon her. And likely enough. For so *Cicero* thinks they did in that answer reported to be given by *Æ* Apollo to *Pyrrhus*, *Aio te Æacida Romanos vincere posse*. And that, First because *Æ* Apollo did not speak in Latine. 2ly Because none of the Greek writers mention any such thing. And 3ly Because the Oracles were not given in verse in *Pyrrhus* his time.

## C A P. II.

*De Templo Delphico, de Theoris, & Oraculi cessatione.*

ALL this while I have said nothing of the Temple, for feare of saying too little. So famous and so rich as it was with the gifts or *δωρεάματα*, of most of the Princes or People in the world (inasmuch that *Aphetoria opes*, so said

from *Ἀπόλλων* the name of *Apollo*, who was *emissor Oraculorum*, hath been used as a proverb for abundance of wealth. I have read of five Temples erected in the same place at several times. The first was of Laurell-boughes fetcht from *Tempe fields*. The second, of *Wax and Feathers*: or else fained to be made *ὑποπόδιον* of wings, because the man's name was *Pterax* that built it. The third, of *Brasse* (as the Temple was at *Sparta Minerva χυροίκου*.) This some say was molten to ground, others that it was swallowed up by the Earth-quake. The fourth, of stone, destroyed by fire the first year of the fifth *Olympiad*. The fifth, built by the *Amphyctians* out of the holy treasure in a very steep place, with but one narrow way for the entrance. More might be said concerning the temple, and the E. I. in the frontispice, the reason whereof is disputed by \* *Plutarch*; but I doubt there is too much already. I will proceed to the Customes, which the Athenians (the devoutest servants of *Apollo*) used in sending to him: either to *Delphos*, or to *Delos*; to doe him honour, or to aske his advice. The occasion of sending to the Oracle, was either for help in performing some arduous affaires; or for delivery from sickness, or the like. When they went thither, they were said *ὑποπόδιον*, when they returned againe *ὑποπόδιον*. The ceremonies used in sending Embassies extraordinary to *Delphos*, were neerer the same with those that were ordinarily used in the *Delia-feast* once a yeare, and they were these. Those that were sent were called sometimes *ἑλισσάμενοι*, from the feast, sometimes *ἑλισσάμενοι* (like Hebrew *seers*) a name suitable to that of *Apollo Σκοπῆς* in *Pindar* (*Pyth. γ.*) which some notwithstanding interpret to be his Index, or his angell the *Crow*. He that had the ordering of the businesse was called *Ἀρχιδάμος*. There were also sent along with them *Κήρυκος Μουσικῶν*, two that were to be *ὑποπόδιον*, or *Euphoniæ* at *Delos* for that yeare. The ship in which they went, was first to be adorned with Garlands by the Priest of *Apollo*, and so were the messengers too on the \*head, the brow, and the neck, τὸ θυμὸν δὲ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἔχοντες.

Pausan in Phoeb.

\* ὡς τῇ Ε. Ι.  
τῇ ἐν ἑλισσάμενοι.\* Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δ' ἔ-  
ρεψεν αὐτοὺς  
δεδυμένους καὶ  
παιδῶν ὡς ποτὶ  
Ἀπολλόνιον Ι.  
2. Argon.

in allusion to the three parts of the soule. The ship was likewise called *ἑλισσάμενοι*, and sometimes *ἑλισσάμενοι*. It was wont to be *Thersseus* his, in which the Boyes were brought, that were to be paid to the *Minotaur*, at such time as returning from *Crete* to *Athens*, he instituted the *Plætes*, and the solemnity celebrated by the aforesaid *Deliafe*, when they came to *Delos*. This yeary ship the Athenians kept for his sake, till the time of *Demetrius Phalereus*, ὅτε καὶ τοῖς αἰσχροῖς ἐν αὐτῇ αὐξάνουσαν λόγον ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπαύσατο τὸ πλοῖον. ἢ καὶ ἔτι ὡς τὸ αὐτὸ, καὶ ὡς ἔτι τὸ αὐτὸ διαμένει λεγόντων, *Insomuch* (saies *Plutarch*) that *Philosophers* use to illustrate that opinion, that the body remaines still the same notwithstanding continuall decay, by this similitude. Besides this, there were foure more *naves sacre*, viz. the *Paralos*, *Antigonis*, *Ptolemais*, and *Ammonis*. The things that were sent for the keeping of the feast and the Sacrifice, were called *πομπῆς*. For when they came thither, first they \* *Sacrificed*; and then the Maid sent thither from severall places, fell a Dauncing a strange kind of daunce about the Altar, which the called *ῥέπανον*, *Græcè* the Crane: wherein, the motions being crooked like the cranes-neck when he holds it in, they imitated the turnings and windings of the *Minotaur's* labyrinth; beating the Altar, and biting at a bush of *Olive*s with their hands behind them (as our boyes doe at *Snare* apple) if so much be imported in the words of *Callimachus*,

Thucyd. l. 5.

\* ἑμπεδοκλῆς  
τεκεμάρμε-  
νοι. apud  
Pind. Olymp. H.

Ἡ δὲ μάχην ἢ σὺν βραμὸν ὑπὸ πλινθῶν ἐλάσσει.  
\* ῥέπανον δὲ δακτύλου ἀγρόν ἐλάσσει  
ἑλίκῃ ὑποστρέφαντι βέε.

Hymn in  
Del.

The Altar was *ῥέπανον*, and therefore called *ῥέπανον* because it was made by *Apollo* at foure yeares old, of the hornes of the Goats, which his sister *Diana* killed a hunting upon *Cynthus* hill. The hornes were all of the left side, saith *Plutarch* in *Thetis*. And yet in his book de *Soleria Animalium*, 'tis ἑλίκῃ. Whether it should be rendered of the right side, or right, that is, fit or handsome, I know not. But so strangely were

were these hornes joyned together without any Cement, glue, or tye, that it was reckoned for one of the *seven strange sights* *ἑν τῶν ἑπτὰ θαυμάσιων θαύματι*, as *Ovid* saies, *in* *Miror & innumerus struam de cornibus arum.*

During all these holy daies no malefactor was to suffer punishment. By which meanes *Socrates* had the hap to be reprimed for thirty daies, *ἄνθρωπος δὲ δὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Δελφῷ*, saith *Xenophon*. When the *Theori* returned, they came with their Garlands about them, and the People ranne all forth to meet them, opening their doores, and making obeysance as they passed by, which made him complaine so in *Euripides*.

*Οὐδ' ὅς τις μὲν ὅς δὲ θεῶν ἀείροι θυῶν  
Πύλας ἀνοίξας εὐσεβέως σπονδίσσειν.*

In Hippol.

How the Oracle at *Delphos* came to cease is uncertaine. Some say, *Alexander* put it downe. But it appears to have flourished after his time: *Plutarch* thinks, it ceased as soon as men had wit enough to advise themselves, without seeking to him that made it his businesse to couzen them. *Dion* saies, it was *Nero* murdered the men at the hole. When it left *Delphos* it went to the \* *Hyperborean Scythians*; for *Abaria* a Scythian ope of *Apollo's* Priests, wrote a book of his Oracles, and his coming thither. The *Athénians* when all Greece was infected with the Plague, had an Oracle from thence, to make vovves and prayers in the name of the rest. And it was their fashion to send guifts & offerings thither, as they had done to *Delphos*. But what need we doubt of the time or the cause, since we doubt not of that which *Prudentius* asseerts.

— Ex quo hominis Deus induit artus.

*Delphica damnatis tacuerunt sortibus antra.*

*Non Tripodes Corina regit, non spumat anhelus.*

*Fata Sibyllinis sanatiens edita libris.*

*Perdidit insanos mendax Dodona vapores.*

*Neo-responfa refert Lybicus in Syrtibus Ammon.*

The

The Oracle-place, (*ἡ ἀνάκτορος ἡ ἱερὴ*) of *Jupiter Hammon*, is thought to have been at first a kind of *Schoole* for the family of *Cham*, or *Ham*, but afterward abused by the Devil to this delusion of Oracles. It was in *Africa* among the *Garamantes* in a place almost inaccessible for heat, as that place at *Delphos* was for high. *Dodona's* Grove is thought to have been such another *Schoole*, viz. For the offspring of *Dodonaim* Nephew to *Japhet*. But for this there is a Fable of a paire of Doves, that should come from *Egypt*, one of which picht upon a Beech-tree in *Epirum*, and there using the voyce of a man among other good instructions gave order for the building of a Temple in that place; which was done by *Deucalion* after his ship came thither ( while I speake of these things I cannot but think upon *Noah* and his Arke, & his Dove ) besides the building of the City *Dodona*, neare unto which this Oracle was. These two Oracles are reckoned the most ancient of all, & of these two, the last. *Ἰδὲ δὲ νεώτερον τῶν παλαιότερον ἀρ. αὐτῶν τῶν ἑστ. ἐν Ἑλλάδι χριστιανῶν.* And therefore a word or two more of it then I *Herodot.* thought. It is conceived by most, that those Doves were certaine Women-priests or Prophets, fetcht from *Egypt* ( the Mart of superstition ) by the *Phanicians* first, & from thence convey'd into *Thessaly*. Now in the *Thessalian* language, the same word which signifies a Dove, is used also to signify a Prophetesse, ἡ μάτις. *Enstathius* saies, that in the *Thessalian* In II. 8. tongue old Women were called *ματαιαί*, & old men *ματαιοί* & that those Prophetesses being three old women, whose names were *Promenia*, *Timarate*, & *Nicanor*, either by mistake of the word, or the fiction of Poets were commonly suppos'd to be doves. The same author also saies, that perhaps those women being *Barbarians* ( whom the Greeks would scarce allow to be men and women ) for the rude brutish language might have been counted as so many birds. But it seemes to have been no such strange thing in ancient times, for Prophetesses to have the names of doves. And therefore *Lycophron*

\* Pulcher Apollo  
Lustrat Hyperboreas  
Delphis cessantibus  
arum. Claudian.

phron calls *Cassandra* by the name *Σίωνα Παλμβες*: though in another place she have the name of a more rattling Bird, viz. *Φουβόλη* & *Χελιδόν* the Swallow. The Scholiast upon *Sophocles* (in his *Trachiniae*) hath another conjecture more besides that which I named last, viz. That these Prophetesses had the name of *παλμβες*: or rather if you will, the old women therefore had the name of *παλμὰι*, because they were *παλαιανώνων* gray haired and aged.

*Serabo* speaks of foure Priests called *Ἐμμοὶ* ἔνθ' ἐλόντ' ἔνθ' ἔπειτ' ἰσθύν, from the fennes near the Temple, viz. of *Jupiter* surnamed *Τομυρις*, which was a name common also to the Priests. *Homer* calls them *Ἐμμοὶ*, saying

Ναῖον δ' ὡς ἐν ἑστέσσι δὲ τῖβ' οὐδὲς χαμὰ ἐσθύν.

They had not to waste their feet, and lay upon the ground when they slept. When they gave answer, they got them amidst the boughs; and so the Oracle was thought to come from the Oakes, when it came but from between them. They are called *στυγίπποισι* spruce, and *μαυρίπποισι* spruce, and the *Argo* reported to be made of the timber *Lycophron* called \* *Λέαντον* ἔργον ἵσταται. Round about the Temple stood Basins of Brass, one just against the other *παρὰ πάλαν κεκείμεναι*, saith *Eustathius*, of which if you struck but one all the rest would cry, and make such a noise, that at length *Ἄς Dodoneum* became a Proverb. Be like they used to strike these Basins as they used to doe other Basins and Pots, with a ring held by a thread in the hand, and striking the sides of the vessel so many times, to make a Divination by the sounds.

\* *Cæco Tomuri*  
*jovis augureluco*  
*Arbor præstet*  
*tabulas animæ*  
*se Loquacis.*  
*Claudian.*

C A P.

## C A P. III.

*De Divinatione per somnium, super Melosae in Templis, cum observatione diata.*

Prophecy by a *Dream*, was either *ὄνεισμα*, *Somniatio*, of a *Dreamer of Dreames*, or *ὄνειξις*, *Conjectura*, of an *Interpreter of dreames*, such as *Heecuba* spake of, when she said *ὅς μὲν κελὼν τὸν ὄνειρον*. The latter of these surely belongs to the technical part of *divination*, and may be reckoned for an *Art*, as well as any other sort of *Ariolation*. For he that shall object that speaking but *sometimes* true, does not argue skill, because *si sepe jactaveris, quandoq; venerem facies*, in *Cicero's* opinion may be answered with this question, *Quæ tandem id ars non habet?* Besides if it were no *Art*, what talke we of *Xenophon's* dreames in his service with *Cyrus*, or how came it, that there were so many books written of this subject? For, to say nothing of \* eleven more that wrote of purpose of it, nor of the Treatise *ἡ ἐννομία* reported by \* *Plutarch* to be found among *Mithridates* his bookes, *Artemon Milesius* wrote two and twenty bookes of it himselfe; and there is a very pretty copy of about fourscore *Senarii* verses in Greek, touching the signification of such or such a sight in a dream. But the dream (you must understand, was not every *ὄναρ*, or *vaine* dream: (for so does the Etymology import, *ὄναρ τὸ ἐντὶ δ' ἀλφειῶν ὄνειρον*) saies *Eustathius*) but *ὄναρ*, or *ὄνειξις*, a *Morning dream*, fresh and fasting, such as *ὄναρ* is, saith \* *Homer*, which they derive *ὄναρ* ἵπτιον ὄνειρον, which comes about waking time, or *ὄνειξις*, which they derive *παρὰ τὸ πρὶν ἄγειν*, and of such is that of *Orpheus* in the *Ægyptiaca* *μυλόντων θύπτει χρησάμεναι μάστιγι*. I believe few that read me are such as *Plutarch's Pharsyade*, or *Plinius Asianus*, that never dreams of a dream; & therefore will make bold to detain them the longer. It is variously conjectured T.

Lib. 1. Divin.

\* *Plut. Jun*  
*animad.*  
\* *In Pompeio.*

\* *Οὐκ ὄναρ*  
*δὲ ὄναρ*  
*ἐσθλὸν ὅτι τε*  
*πλεονέχον*  
*ἔσται.*

Hom. Odys.



Lib. 7.61p 5'

\*Pausan. Eliae.  
Propertius lib.  
2, El. 4.

\* Εναγίζεσθ ὃ  
σὺ τῶν κέλαντα  
καὶ οὗτοι μαν-  
τῶν οὐκ ἐγ-  
κοιμώμενοι ἐν  
τῷ θέρει.  
*Strabo l.6.*

*Cal. Rodrig.*

348  
who was the first conjec<sup>tor</sup> in this kind. \* *Pliny* saies, *Amphi-*  
*lyon*, *Democritus*'s son; *Philo Judaeus*, *Abraham*; *Trogus Pto-*  
*metus*, *Joseph*; *Pausanias* would have it to be *Amphiarasus*,  
whom he reports to have been Deified for his skill; and that  
they used to sacrifice to him, when they look'd for a dreame.  
They talke that the People that lived neer *Borysthenes*, and  
the *Gates*, were excellent at this worke; and so were those  
that lived at the \* *Hible*, two Cities so named in *Sicily*. But  
among't all, the old doring Women were best at it,

*Que mihi non decies somnia versat annus.*

When they desired to dreame a Prophetically dreame, sometimes they would sacrifice a Ram to *Amphiarans*, and sleep upon the fleece. For thus the *Darii* used to doe, in the Temple of \* *Calchus*. So likewise the *Calabri* used their *molae* sheep-skins, or fleeces, to sleep upon at the Sepulchre of *Podalirius*. And it seemes, it was a common practise both for dreaming; for *Virgil* also saies,

— *Cesarum ovium sub nocte silenti.*

*Pellibus incubuit stratis, somnosq. petiuit*

And also for purifying a polluted person in the Eleusinian & other sacrifices: they took the skinnes of beasts that had been sacrificed to *Jupiter* ( which they called by the name of *Διὸς κύνες* ) and laid them under their feet. Nay there was no small use of fleeces and skinnes in severall other busineses: as in Mourning, and at Weddings when the Wife ( as I told you ) lay upon a fleece for a cushion, to shew her purpose *Transfere intendere* of spinning and carding: The *Scythians* play'd *mad* tricks with skinnies: For among them, if a man had been wronged, and had need of help to revenge himselfe, he would sacrifice an Oxe, and cut the flesh into pieces and boyle it; and sit upon the skinnie with his hands behind him, and to begge for helpe. Then come his friends, and every one taking a piece of the flesh, and setting his right foot on the skinnie, promised either men of Armes, or what he best could. Such ceremonies as these, they accounted a fast engage-

engagement, and much conducing to the successe. Sometimes they would goe and sleep in a Temple with Laurell, or some such fatidical stuffe tyed about their heads, and sacrifice to *Brijs*, the goddess of the *dreamers*; so called from *Βριζω* to sleep. The Lacedemonians kept men of purpose to sleep in the Temple of *Pasithes*; to watch for dreames. So if any were sick, they would goe and sleep in the Temple of *Esculapius*, to dreame of a remedy. (as they have used to doe with us, to goe watch at the Church-dore, to know who shall dye next) *Pluto* in *Aristophanes* did so,

κατακλίνουσι τὸ πλῆθός, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν

And the like was wont to be done in Egypt in the Temple of *Serapis*. But *Juvenal* has sufficiently declared the vanity of all this doings in saying;

Non delubra deum, nec ab aethere uamina mittunt  
Sed sibi quisq; facit.

Besides all this they took a speciall care of their diet, so as to fast for *one* day before, and abstaine from Wine for *three*. as likewise to forbear eating Beanes or raw fruit. *Aristotle* saies there is no credit to be given  $\phi\eta\sigma\iota\omega\pi\omega\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma\delta\upsilon\pi\tau\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , to *dreames* in the *Autumne*. But *Plutarch* questions that againe; and saies if we eate good and ripe fruit,  $\eta\eta\sigma\iota\delta\alpha\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\chi\lambda\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$   $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$   $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , *our dreames will be the truer*. Fish either they counted very good, or very bad. For when they sacrificed to *Brizo*; they offered boates full of all manner of things but Fish; whether it were to please the goddesse with the sparing of the best thing, or the rejection of the worst I cannot tell. *Plutarch* observes that the head of a *Polyjpus* is as *sober* in the *dream*, as 'tis sweet in the *rust*: & therefore compares Poetry to it, when it is not moderately used. Some choyce there was also of the colour of their Clothes. For the whitest and clearest was best,  $\sigma\alpha\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$   $\lambda\alpha\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$   $\chi\epsilon\lambda\mu\alpha\sigma$   $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$   $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ . *Plutarch* saies *Soidas*; as if *Dreams* and the *Visions* must needs be the *clearer*. The truest *dreames* ( $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\omega\tau\epsilon\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$ ) or the clearest *visions*, were either a little after it was day, or toward the

X x 3

mornin g

\* ὅς ἐστι ἐν ἑσπέρῃ  
ἡ δὲ ὄρεα ἐν ἑσπέρῃ  
πρὸς τὸν ὡτὸν  
ἀποφύγει.

Odyss. d.  
a Nany, sub au-  
rori jam dor-  
mitant lucernā  
Tempore quo  
cerni somnia ve-  
ra solent.

morning ( the formes time *Homer* calls *ἡ ὥρα τοῦ ἀποφύγει*, the milking time in the Morning, in opposition to *ἡμέρας ἀποφύγει* the milking time in the evening )

— ὅρῳ δὲ ἡν

Εὐτε δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐξέρχεται ὁ ποταμός.

saies *Theocritus*: and *Ovid* was of the same mind \* *Pliny* saies a dreame is never true presently after eating and dinking. But *Artemidorus* saies it is all one for that, *ἐπειδὴ ὁ δὲ ἡμέρας ἀποφύγει* ὅς ἐστι τὸν ποταμόν ἐξέρχεται τὸν ποταμόν, for if you eat too much, the dreame will never be the truer if it tarri' till morning.

## CAP. IV.

## De duabus portis.

SO great a difference there was in Dreames, that they were faine to make two distinct doores for them to come in by, one of Horne, and another of Ivory. For thus much *Penelope* her selfe could tell *Ulysses* ( when she desired him to interpret her dreames )

Δοια δὲ τὸ πύλαι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ὁρίων

Ἀτ' ἔξ' ἡ κεφαλῇ τεσσάρων, αὐτὴν ἐλθόντων.

Odyss. 7.

In Ephemer.

*Anthonius* saies as much; telling you which are the true, and which the false;

*Et geminas numera portas: qua fornice ebuxu  
Semper fallaces glomerant super aëra somnos  
Altera quo veros emittit: cornu visum.*

And I have heard of some Christians that have believed the same. *Philostrophus* saies, that in allusion to these doores, they used to picture a dreame with a white garment upon a black, & a horne in his hand. The doore for the true dreams was of Horne.

Nonnus Dion.  
d.

(\* Surely this was made of the hornes of the Ramme when they slept upon the *Becca*. Of which before ) the doore for the

the false and deceitfull dreames, was of Ivory, such as that wherewith *Morrbheus* was cozened with in the Poet.

Μόρρεος δὲ ὁπότεντα παρὰ τῶν ἐστὶν ὄρεα  
Κλεῖσι δὲν ἐλθόντων ἀποφύγει πύλαι.

Nonn.

\* In Char-  
mid.

*Lucian* therefore jeeres the covetous *Micyllus* for wishing his dreame-dore were of Gold, whereas there were but those two in all, as may be gathered by these words in \* *Plato*. " Ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐμὸν ὄρεα εἴτε διὰ κεφαλῇ εἴτε διὰ ἐλθόντων ἐλθόντων. The reasons of those names, I find very prettily guessed at by the Scholiast upon *Homer* at the place above commended; & I shall desire your patience to tell them. First, the true ( saies he ) comes by the Horne-dore or ἐξ ἐλθόντων: because τὰ ἐμὸν κεφαλῇ, or κεφαλῇ, that is *effectum reddunt*, they say no more then comes to passe, whereas those that come in by the Ivory-dore, or ἐξ ἐλθόντων, ἐλθόντων, or ἐλθόντων, delude the dreamer with a fruitlesse hope of truth. 2ly *Κεφαλήν ἐμὸν*, the coming in by the Horne is as much as coming cleerely, for one may see throw horne, if it be made rhinne. *ἐλθόντων*, the tother confusedly, for one cannot see throw Ivory, nor any other such white things, as milke or the like, if they be never so little, and so *Macrobius* does interpret it too. 3ly By the *Κεφαλήν* is meant the eye, by the figure *Synecdoche*, or κεφαλῇς χεῖρ, *cornea tanica*, the first coat of the eye. And by the *ἐλθόντων*, the mouth, or the Ivory-coloured tee: ἡ ἐλθόντων, ὁ ἐλθόντων: & so the meaning must be, that which is to be seen with the eye is likelier, then that which is but said to be so from the teeth. And this was also the opinion of *Servius* concerning the same fiction, upon those words of *Virgil*

*Sunt Geminae somni portae &c.*

4ly By the Horne-dore, may be meant the passage for the more heavenly & Diviner sort of dreames, ὁ ἐλθόντων, or ὁ ἐλθόντων: by the other, the entrance for the χεῖρ: the more earthly, grosse; and confused. Because the Elephants *Proboscis* turnes downward towards the earth, whereas the

\* Speaking of  
sleep saies he.  
Hoc velamen  
cum in quiete  
ad verum usq;  
actum animae in-  
trepidantis at-  
mittit, decorum  
creditur cuius  
ista natura est,  
ut, ut tenuium  
visui pervium  
sit, cum autem  
a vero hederat  
ac repellit, obtu-  
um, obur putatur  
cuius &c. l. c. 3.  
in Somnium  
Scip.

horne

Hornes of other beasts look upward toward heaven. *ἡ ἀνέστη*, is the doore for the false dreames; because there can be no other but false dreames expected, when the *Teeth* have eaten too much.

The Ghosts which are to come in by these doores, were thought to be *Ghosts and Spirits* from hell. *Umbra*, *Shadowes* they might well be: & such as ascend in a *sume* too, like *Furies* from the neither part of the body. Again as Ghosts are

— *ἡ ψυχή* *ὁ δαίμων*, said to fly in and out like dreames, and death is a sleep: so dreames are said to fly in and out like Ghosts, and sleep is a death. *Lycophron* calls them *νυκτιποτα δαίμονες*, *night-Walking Bug-beares*. Fly they did with *black wings*, like battes of the night; and therefore *Enripides* calls a dreame *νυκταροπέφυγον*, *Orpheus* *ταυνοσίπτερον*, *Lucian* *πτερόν*. If this be so, the reason, why before they went to bed, when they meant to dreame, they used to sacrifice a Victim to *Mercury*, was it may be not so much because of his *rod*, with which he brought people a sleep, and awakened them againe, as because he was Gentleman-usher of the Ghosts: for what reason so ever it was, it seemes *Mercury* was most in their minds when they were ready to sleep: and therefore as at feasts, so at other times, the last of their prayers was to him, & the last health that went round was his. For so we find *Calasiris* in *Heliodorus*, *ἐν πλάτῳ* &c. After he had prayed to all the rest of the gods, calling upon *Mercury* for *εὐδαιμον νύκτα*, a night of good dreames. Hence was it that they used to fasten *ταῖς ἐρεμῖαις*, *Images of Mercury* to their beds feet, which from thence had the name of *ἑρεμνίαι*. When they sacrificed that *villtime*, they used to take the tongue & \* burne it in the fire, as in honour to him to whom they thought all tongues and speech to be consecrated. *ἡ γὰρ λίσσιν* *ἡ ἑρεμνία*, saies the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*. With whom agrees *Athenæus*, *σερπενέμονται* *ἡ αὖ τοῖς αἰγῶσι* *διὰ τὴν ἑρεμνίαν*, other who did not think dreames to be Ghosts, yet would have them to be put into the head by Spirits, as

Plato

*Plato* who thought the aire to be full of such things, And so *Democritus* (as the Scholiast reports, who saies that he had it from *Homer* himselfe) thought that men dreamt this or that dreame *ἡ ἀνέστη* *ἡ ψυχή*, or (as \* *Platarch* has it from the same man) *ἡ ἀνέστη* *ἡ ψυχή*, according to this composition, or separation of *Images*; or *Ghosts*, or *phanctes*, or somewhat. But indeed I think those *ἡ ἀνέστη* should not be so much *Images* as *Imaginations*, nor so much *Umbra* Ghosts, as *adumbrationes*, *Images* and *Species* in the Phancy proceeding from the *Spirits* within, and not from those without.

In Odyss. 8.

De Placit. Philos.

## CAP. V.

De Somniorum variis generibus, &amp; de eorum illustratione.

FOR their descent, they thought all dreames to have one common mother the *Earth*. *ἡ γὰρ ἡμετέρα* *ὁ δαίμων*, saies *Enripides*. And the Scholiast upon him gives the reason, *ἐν γὰρ τῇ γῇ* *ὡς ἐν τῇ τροφῇ* *ὡς ἐν τῇ τροφῇ*, because from the earth comes meat from meat sleep, and from sleep dreames. Some indeed thought, they were from *Hecate*, (and so they may come from the earth still.) And some from the *Moon*, which was all one, and suited very well to the time of their coming, the night.

For the *Kinds* of dreames, *Macrobius* makes five, viz. 1. *φάντασμα*, 2. *ἐν ὕπνῳ*, 3. *ὄνειρος*, 4. *ὄραμα*, 5. *χρηματισμός*. Others divided them into *ἀληθεύεις*, and *ἁπορηματικὸς* *ὄνειρος*. *ἀληθεύεις* were *ὡς ἐν τῇ γῇ* *ὡς ἐν τῇ τροφῇ*, when things appeared in their own likeness. *ἁπορηματικὸς* were when they appeared in the likeness of other things; when one thing was dreame and another meant. Such as *Cesar's* was, when he dreamt he lay with his Mother, and so was informed *Imperium orbis terræ portendi, quæ cunctarum viventium sit mater*, that the whole earth the mother of every living thing was to be under him. Nay the distinction of dreames was so accurate,

Y y

\* Homer. Odyss. 4.

L. 3. Snidius.

\* 2. on Odyss. 12.

\* Plut.

curate, that in the making of them, *Somnus* was fained to have no lesse then three servants to wait upon him. For if he would have a dreame that should concerne *men*, he made uie of *Morpheus*; if *beasts*, of *Phobor* (as *men* called him) or *Icolos* (as the gods called him) *Fit fera, fit volucris*— if inanimate creatures (*Quæq; vacant animâ*— of him that had the name of *Phantasos* ( I wonder how he could remember all the shapes and the river of *Lethe* spring in his house, and his house be as darke as a denne as any among the *Cimmerii*, for so it is fained to be.)

But after all this doting about a Dreame, is there any remedy, if I meet with any of the best? Yes by all meanes as soone as I arise, be sure to tell it to *Vesta*, or some other household stufte, *disi penatibus*.

*Vadit & hinc caste narratum somnia Veste*

*Quæ sibi, quæq; mihi non nocitura forent.*

Or if you think this to little, tell it to the *Sun*, or *Apello* *averruncus*, called by them *Ἀπολλῆϊος*, *ἑξαιρέτης*, or *παρανοήτης*, because his Image used to stand in the Porches. Some had rather to doe it to *Hercules*, and some to *Jupiter*, as he does in *Plautus*. But there is better reason why they should doe it to the *Sun*, viz. *Ἦνα ἑπειδὴ τὸ ἄλλος ἐστὶ τῇ νυκτὶ ἀποτρέπων ἔργαζεται*, &c. Because the *Sun* being contrary to the night, might have power to avert, or expell all evils brought by the same. They are the words of the Scholiast, upon that of *Sophocles*— *ἡλιὸν δὲ κινύσι τὴν αἰτῶν* &c. They called this action *Ἀποπνεύμασι*, ἀπονομπνεύειν, and *ἀποπνεύμασι* \* *ἐννοχον ὄψιν*, but most properly *ἀποτροπή* ἔδει τοῦ ἡλίου. It was practised by *Iphigenia* in the Poet, when she had dreamt of the fall of the house: although she ( or the Poet ) had so much wit as to think it to be to little purpose.

*Ἄ κενὰ δ' ἦ καὶ νύξ θόρυσος ὀνείρατα*

*Ἀλλ' οὐ σέως αἰδῶρ ἔστι δὴ τίς ἐς ἄκος.*

If you think that this will not doe neither, try a third remedy, goe make a prayer and wash your selfe lustily in the

the cold River till you sweate.

— *sub lucem ut visa secundent.*

*Oro calicolas, & vivo purgor in amne.*

*Sil. Ital. l. 8.*

Or if the River water be not good enough goe to the fontaine, as he did in \* *Æschylus*.

\* *In Persis.*

*Ἐπεὶ δ' αἰέτω καὶ χερσὶν καθιγίγναι*

*Ἐλταυτο πηγῆς σὺν θνητοῖσι χερσὶ*

*Βυζῶν πηγῆς ἐστὶν ἀπὸ πηγῶν δαίμων*

*Θάλασσα δὴ τὰ πλάτων.*

If you think no cold water will doe it, call for hot, as he does in *Aristophanes*.

— *ἐν πτάτων δέρον ἄετα*

*In Ratis:*

*Ἐρματε δ' ὁ δαῖς*

*Ὡς αὖθις ὄρεον ἀποκλύσται.*

But perhaps no kind of fresh water is strong enough; you may doe well therefore to try in the *Sea*, for there they used to wash away not onely the evill of a dreame, but of a crime, or disease, or any thing else: for 'tis reported that *Euripides* when he went with *Plato* into *Egypt*, being troubled with the falling-sicknesse, was bid by the Priest, to bath himselfe in the *Sea*, and being by that meanes cured, he presently gave this commendation of it,

*Ὁ ἅλας καλύζει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακὰ.*

So I remember *Plinius* in the Poet is led to the *Sea*, for recovery of his sight. After murther ( for other sinnes they scarce thought great enough, to cost hot water ) it was a common practise; and then no feare of the displeasure of a god for the future.

*λύμαθ' ἀγίστα ἔμαθ'*

*Μῆτιν βαρεῖαν ἑξάλυσμαι θαῖς.*

Y y 2

SECT.

*Ovid. Met. l. 12. f. 10.*

*Propert. l. 2. Eleg. 29.*

*In Eleatr.*

*Eurip. in Hec.*

*Idem in Taur. v. 43.*



## SECT. II.

*De Divinatione artificiosa, & primò de Ornithomantiâ.*

**T**HE *Technicall* part of Divining, *artificiosum genus divinandi*, as *Cicero* calls it, consisted especially in the observing of birds, & the Entralls of Beasts. Besides which were *φύλας* or *κλήρες* ominous words, or things, *σύμβολα ἐνδόξα, κλήροι* lots, *τέχνη* sights, and indeed *ἐταρρύμοια* (as the Scholiast saith upon *Homer*) infinite many more; but the two first were every where most in use. *Qua est autem gens aut quæ civitas, quæ non aut extris pecudum, aut Angurum, aut sortium prædictione moveatur.* In the first the *Phrygians*, *Cicilians*, *Arabians*, *Pisideans*, and the *Umbrians* excelled; the *Lacedæmonians* had so great esteem of it, that every King had his *Augur* to advise him, as well as the Senate. It was first invented, (saith *Pliny*) by one *Car.* *Auguria ex avibus invenit Car., à quo Caria nomen habet; adjecit ex cæteris animalibus Orpheus.* Improv'd it was very much by *Calchas*: so that he proved exceeding usefull to the Greeks in the Trojan expedition, not only shewing them how they should pacifie *Diana* detaining the ships at *Aulis*, & *Apollo* afflicting the people with a Pestilence, but telling the number of years that the warre should last, by the number of Sparrowes destroyed by the Serpent in the nest as *Cicero* renders the verses.

*Nam quot aves retro mactatas dente videtis  
Tot nos ad Trojam belli exantlabimus annos  
Quæ decimo cadet, & pœnâ satiabit Achivos.*

And yet as cunning as he was, he died for griefe, because he could not tell how many Piggs were in the belly of a Sow (say

(say some) or how many Figges upon the fig tree (saith *Hesiod*) which *Mopsus*, with whom he contested, was able to tell. The name they called it by was, *ὄρνιθουαρτεία*, or *διωνιστική*. It was *διωνιστική* at first with an *omicron*, according to *Plato*, as being *ὁ τὸν ὄρνιθον διωνοῦσιν ἀνθρώπων νόσοι*: but now (saith *Aristides*) they write it with *omega* *τὸ ὠ πλανήοντες*, to give the better grace to the word: and it is still used as the old word was, for any kind of divination; as *ὄρνις*, and *διωνὸς* a bird, are for any other ominous thing. Now among the Greeks it was the *Augur's* fashion to were a white garment (whereas it was purple, or Scarlet among the Latines) and to have his *διωνιστικὸν* his place & his seat appointed for the purpose, *τὸν δάκος, ὃν δάκος.*

*Εἰς δὲ πάλαιον δάκον ὀρνιθοπατρὺς ἔχον.* Saies he *In Antigon.*

in *Sophocles*. And the Scholiast upon the word *δάκος* in *Euripides* saies, it was a place made in *Thebes*, where *Tiresias* used to sit & divine. When they went to it, *οἱ διωνοσκόποι ἐν δέλτοις ἐσημειῶντο τὰς πῆσεις* (saith the same Scholiast) doubting their memory might not suffice, they carried their Table-books with them, and wrote downe the name, and the sight of the Bird, and every thing belonging thereto. This and the seeing too *Tiresias* being blind, and only able to fore-see, and judge of things as they were told him, was faine to have his daughter to doe for him: by which meanes she her selfe at length, after the death of her father, became very famous at *Thebes* for her skill in the art. Yea not only the habit of the Greek *Augures*, but their manner of observing was different from other peoples. *Quid, quod aliis avibus munitur, aliis signis? Aliiter observant, aliter respondent,* saies *Cicero.* The

L 2.

Greeks accounted the right side the luckiest, *Græci & Barbari dextra meliora*: the Romans the left. Although (to speak the truth, the side was the same, only the posture of the *Augures* was different. For the Grecians looked towards the north, & the Romans toward the south; & the word *sinistra* for lucky, or good signes, came not so much a *sinistrâ manu* frõ

the hands being left; as a *suendo*, from the man's being left to his pleasure to set upon his enterprize if he would. So *saies Festus* and *Cicero* thus, *Quamquam haud ignoro quæ bona sunt sinistra nos dicere etiam si dextra sint.* But yet this was the manner of speech, viz. For the Greeks, to call the lucky tokens alwaies \* *δεξιά* right (and therefore *Statiu* may seeme to have mistaken, when he spake of *Græcian* Augury,

\* *Signa feras leviusq; tones* — ) The Romans sometimes *dextra*, and sometimes *leva*; but the one *more suo*, and the other *more Græco*. *Unlucky* birds ( word used among us for an unhappy wagge ) they called *ἐξελαιμύς*, or *ἐξέσπρος*, when they fled not, or *picht* not in their usuall height or place This last word puts me in mind of that saying of *Hippolitus* perhaps in allusion to it.

— — — ἀπαλήλαστοι μα

Δόρυ πυγμαλέοντες ἐξέσπρος φρενῶν

Sometimes they are called *ἀποθύμιοι*, or *καλυπτικοὶ* *inhibere*, *ἐρεκε* — *arcusæ*, and *ἀεικέλαιοι* ( as in \* *Apollonius* ) ab *εἶπω* *cedo*, as who would say *non sinistra*, or *non sinentia*, as I told you before. And such they comonly counted those that had long talons or \* *scra*cht their heads as they fled, such (as they say) were seen upon *Cassius* his Tent before his defeat : the Latines call them *Volsgras*. But what is there no *amuletum*, nor remedy against a few paltry birds? yes, I have read in *Apulius* of a trick to kill one or two of the worser sort, and hang them up at the doore : as we use to doe dead Crows upon a stick in the field, to scare the living away: \* *Saies* he, *Istas nocturnas aves cum penetraverint Larem quempiam, sollicitè prehensas foribus vidimus affigi, ut quod insaufis volatibus familia minantur, exitium suis luant cruciatibus.* Birds that were lucky either in their nature, or the place they appeared in, were called *αἰσιοί*, or *δοκοί*, that is, such as were not *ἐξέσπροι* ( *unseatly*, or *unhighly* as we use to say ) but appeared *παμπροσώρις* ( *early*, or *unhighly*, (as \* *Æschylus* has it, ) in their proper *spheare* or *seat*. such they counted Doves, and the *σιγή* in matters of Love:

as they did the Cocks, if they kept a continuall crowing, in matters of Warre. For hereupon the Augurs once foretold the *Thebans* a victory. *Propterea quod avis illa victa silere solet; canere, si vicisset.* Cock-fightings indeed were usually *ἐξέσπρος* *συλαστικοί* saith \* *Artemidorus*, *signes of sedition and discord.* But then you must except the Cock-matches kept once a weare in the Theatre and instituted by \* *Themistocles* after the victory gotten over the *Persians* from whom \* the Cock first came into *Athens*. This bird being alwaies very much lookt upon in matters of Warre, was the occasion that *Mars* was pictured with a Cock: insomuch that it was their ordinary sacrifice to *Mars*, and therefore *Aristophanes* in *Avibus* calls it \* *ἄρεος νεστίον*, *Mars his own bird* All birds (saith one) were either *μαστιχῶ*, or *μασκή* or *θαλάσσια*. The *μαστιχῶ* ( I believe ) were not many besides Crows, and Eagles and Doves, and Owles the most noted of all. Some of them are thought to have had a kind of language; which the Augurs came to understand by being lickt by Snakes, or some such venomous & veneneficall meanes *Qui credit ista* ( saies *Plinius* ) \* *Melampodi profecto aures lambendo dedisse Intellectum avium sermonis dracones non abnuer, vel quæ Democritum tradit, nominando aves quarum confuso sanguine serpens gignatur quem si quisquam ederit, intellecturus sit avium colloquia.* *Eustathius* saies that *Helenus* and *Cassandra* were thus lickt clean into Augurs. \* *Ἠλένη ὃ καὶ Κασσάνδρα ἐν ναυῷ Ἀσπίλων ἐν τῶν ἐλδόντες ὄρεσι ὃ τὰ αὐτῶν φειλεῖσθαι τὰ ὅτι ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν σπυγῶν αἰς μόνος τὰς ἡδὲ τῶν ἀκύνει βολὰς.* I am glad I am sav'd the labour to reprove those fellows *my selfe*. For it seemes that the wiser sort even amongst *them*, did give but little heed to the wagging of a feather, or of a bird's taile, when they had a mind to be serious Look in *Homer*, and you shall find *Hector* thus chiding with *Polydamas* the Theban Augur ( who had dissuaded from fighting, by reason of some thing or other which he had observed in the Birds ) saies he, *you may if you think good, sit and gaze upon a few foolish birds* 'till

Lib. 3. c. 5.

b *Ælim.*

c *Var. Hist. l. 2.*

d *Athen. l. 14.*

e *Rosin.*

f *In Ari-*

g *stoph Aves*

h *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

i *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

j *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

k *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

l *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

m *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

n *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

o *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

p *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

q *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

r *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

s *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

t *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

u *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

v *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

w *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

x *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

y *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

z *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

aa *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

ab *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

ac *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

ad *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

ae *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

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till your eyes be out, for my part this is my opinion,

Εἰς αἰῶνις ἀεὶς ἀμύνηται καὶ πᾶσι.

In *Aristophanes* you find the birds themselves *oscinentes*, chirping and gibing their spectators for their superstition.

\*Ελθόντες γὰρ πρὸς τὸν ἕκον ὁρνεῖς ἕτω πρὸς ἁπαντα τὰ ἔκπαισι.

CAP. I.

*De extispicinâ, & quibusdam aliis.*

**D**ivination by the Entrails of beasts, or *Extispicina* (for so *Aruspicina*, Divination in Sacrifices, is denominated à *exteriori* from the best part of it) was more common then that former in all places (*Extis omnes ferè utuntur* saies *Cicero*;) and especially at *Elys* where it was, by the two families of the *Jamidae*, and the \* *Clytids*, and *Thelmeffas* in *Caria* much improved. *Tiresius* had so great skill in this art (I cannot say *insight*, because *Jupiter* gave him the skill to recompence his *blindness*) that even after his death, among the Ghosts there were none but \* his. *Ulysses* himselfe, was faine to trouble his soule to come back againe to give him advise. The whole businesse of Divining at the offering of a Victime ( for there was something elie to doe besides poring in the guts) was called *isegnomia*. And a very solemne businesse it was, being usually attended with a feast, according to that.

*Eurip. Elect.* — ἡμῶν τὸ μέρος θανάσιμα.

*Eurip. Elect.*  
v. 835.

Θυπη), or that part of it in killing, and cutting it off, called by *Sophocles* *μεμβολα*, and the act of cutting *σημαίνην*. The signs observed were most properly called *σημεία*, and the observers *σημαστικοί*. If the beast were drawn by force to the slaughter, if it escaped by the way, avoided the blow, fel. not downe quietly, bled but little, were long a dying, kept

kept beating the ground, they were all ill signs. For the two latter of them you have sadly expressed in the sacrifice of *Egyptus*.

—παῖν ὁ σὸμ' ἄνω καὶ τοῦ

"Ἦσθα πῦρ· ἢ ἀλάζῃ· διὰ τὴν ἡσκειν φόνον.

*Ibid.*

*Ill signes, I say those were; and so was any thing else that either was contrary to nature or use, or put themselves to any trouble. Whereas on the contrary all was well, when every thing was done with ease, the beast not striving, and the blood presently darting out, as it is said it did in the Sacrifice of Menelaus.*

—αιματος ὁ Σπέρροαι

Ἔως οὐδ' ἡμ' ἐσπικνόντιζον ἦεν.

*Idem.*  
v. 1603.

Somewhat there was too, which they observed in the very  
*reduam* or *wagging* of his \* *Taile*, whence that in the Poet.

—Hii kōnō to oitei kōnō;

The beasts that were thus used were anciently sheepe, and Goates, and Calves. The *Cyprians* (they say) made use of Sowes, & the *Samide* of dogs; which was the reason why \**Thrahybulus* one of the pedigree was pictured at *Olympia* \**Pausan* E- with a dog lying by him dissected, and a Weezle (an omi- liac. nous creature) creeping over his shoulder.

In *Fissulation* or *cutting* it abroad, they took most notice of the *Liver*, which \* *Philoftratus* saies they accounted \* *ἡπατι παρὰ* the *Tripus* (as it were) or the *chaire*, & the *key* of the work, *οὐ τ' αὐτοῖς μά-*  
For they thought if the *Liver* was naught, both the blood *τικὺς δὲ* τεῖ-  
and all the rest of the body must needs be so too; inſomuch *ποδοὺ δὲ δειροῖ*  
that the work about all the bowels was called *ἡπατισκοπία*, & ταύτην  
*looking* into the *liver*. The Concavous part of the *Liver* was  
called *ἐστὸς familiaris*, because the signes which they obser-  
ved there, concerned *themselves and their friends*: the *Gibbons*  
ſide, *ἐπιβολὴς οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν* *hostilis*, because the tokens in it concerned *Heſych.*  
*enemies* (as it was with the *Romans*). The place  
or *ſcar* in which all the parts of the *liver* lay, was called *ἀ-*  
*ξίς* or *δοχὴ*: the place between the parts in the middle *πυ-*  
*λάα*,  
Z z

\* *χ.* ad orat. λαία, and εὐρυχωρία. \* *Hesychius* calls it εὐρύς, or εὐρυπύς, *Euripides*.  
*Demost.* Κοπίδες πύλας.  
*ron.*

— πύλας ἢ δορυ πύλας  
 Καὶ ἐν ἱερῶν τῇ σκοπῇ τε περὶ βολαίς.

If there were *δύο* (as they called it) too much dryth, or *δευδίς* a tie between the parts, or especially if it were *ἀλοβόν*, or without a *lobus*, it was a very ill signe: according to that of *Appian* τὰ πρῶτα ἔλοβον εἰς κύνδρον ἢ ἔτι δαιάτην, τὰ δὲ περὶ εἰς θάνατον. This and other such signes because they were so bad, that they feared to goe any farther in it; they called it *ἀδύα*. When they came to handle the heart, they called it *καρδισία*, or *καρδισακείν*. If it were little, or palpitated much, it was an ill signe. Fat in any part of the bowels was good (κνίση δὲ κώλα συγκλυμένη) *saies Aeschylus*; & so were *Σπλάγχων* *πλοῖα*, *plaites and foldings*, *saies Euripides*.

When they came to burning, then they were said more properly *δὲ ἱερῶν μαντῶν*. At *Delphos* they had *πυρῶν*, officers of purpose for the worke. The fire which they made use of for this occasion, was in most places made of some peculiar fewell, kindled by the beames of the Sunne, and kept in a peculiar place. Thus in *Egypt* they had the *seraphim*, and among the *Persians*, the fire which they worshiped under the name of *Orimasda*. At *Athens* they had a torch still burning in the temple of *Minerva Polias*, and *Virgins* constantly there to see it renewed; just as it was at *Delphos*, and at *Rome* in the temple of *Vesta*.

In burning they observed especially the flames, whatever he in \* *Helena* say to the contrary, where he speaks against all other divination too.

\* Οὐδ' ὡς ἄρ' ὕψος ἐν ἱερῶν μαντῶν οὐρόν.

Good signes in the flame were these, if it went upright without a noyse, if it continued till all were consumed; or if it suddenly began to have the latter signe, instead of *χέζου* cleft wood, which they used at other times, they would get small dry sticks that would soonest take fire, τὰ ὑγρὰ, according

cording to that,

*Aristoph. in Pace.*

Now indeed many times *ὁ δὲ ἐν ἱερῶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ, γινώσκουσιν εἰς* *b χ.* in *Eu-πύρ* *βλάεντες*, that is, the Priests being *divinorum sagaces* *rip. c Flammarum*, divined by the burning when there was nothing *c Sil. Ital.* seen in the cutting; and therefore they took the bladder, and binding the neck of it with wooll (for which reason *Sophocles* calls the bladders *μαλοδέτες κύσεις*) put it into the fire, to observe in what place it brake, and which way it darted the Urine, *ὅς περ τὸ οὖρον ἀναντίκει*. Sometimes they took pitch off *b Id.* the Torches, and threw it into the fire, and if there rose but \* *Eurip. in one entire flame*, it was taken for a good signe. In matters *Phen.* of hostility, they took most notice of the gall, and the *ἀκρί* *Μάντις* *μυλ' λαμπρὰς* in the flame: and very good reason, *πικρὶ δ' ἐχέει, ἐτραχὺν, ἱμῖα* for enemies are as bitter as the Gall they burnt. Of the Ashes *πυρὶ τ' ἀκμῶν* too they took some notice *καρτεία* *αὐτοῦ*, *saies \* Sophocles*. In *Πηξίς* *τ' ἐπὶ* the smoak they observed if it went upright and limet of the flesh. And so at other times they w'd to throw frankincense *ἐναντίον Νίκης* and Poppey, and other severall things in the fire, for no- *τε οὕτω ἢ ἱπ* thing else but to observe such things, and to fill the smoake: *ἡσυχάζον.* Besides these there were infinite more *Divelish* sorts of *Di-* *In Oedip.* *vinations*: have the patience to take notice of two or three *Tyr.* of the more notorious, *Νεκρομαντεία* or *Νεκρομαντεία*, w.s. a *Καλὸν θέα-* sometimes by the magicall use of a bone, or a veine of a dead *μα θυμαμά* body, after the fashion of the *Thessalians*, or else by pow- *των Ἀδριαν δια-* ring hot blood into the carcase, to make it answer a ques- *ταίμεν πλε-* tion, as *Eristo* does in *Lucian*, *ἰάντω καί τε.*

— *Dum vocem defuncto in corpore querit*

*Protinus astrictus caluit cruor, atraq; foveit*

*Vulnera &c.*

Now because the Ghost or the Soule was thus recalled to the body (— *animas responsa daturas*) it was therefore sometimes termed *ψυχρομαντεία*, or *Συκρομαντεία*, *Divining by the Soule*; or the Ghost. But such as expected any answer thus from the soul then, must be sure to be kind to the body before:



Hered. l. 6.

\*Std l. 4.

Prüfung in  
Lacon.

**D. 30. C. 11.**

ther or the like, such as this *Clara dies Pauli bona tempora denotat anni*, not to disparage those more *Astrological* and *Rationall*, such as that of *Virgil*.

*Luna revertentem, &c. with the rest.*

## C A P. II.

*De ritu Divinandi ex vocibus, & rebus ominatis.*

ALL this which I have spoken is to conjecture by *things*, but there is a way by *words* also; by which according as the words were good or bad, they presaged such and such events. Such words were called *χρησμεῖς* or *φύμαι*, from *φύμα* (futable to the name of *Propheta*:) as *omen* comes from *oremen* quia fit ore (quoth *Festus*.) You may render it *voices* (for so we use to call those prophetick speeches, which we heare we know not from whence, as the Scripture also does) & *Tully* called them by the name of *voices*; *Pythagorei non solum voces deorum observant, sed etiam hominum*. Any words that either boded ill, or signified that which they disliked, they called *ῥήματα*; and he that used them to another, either to hurt him, or to vex him, was said to *βλασφημεῖν αὐτὸν* to blaspheme him. *ἐπιγῆδου βλασφημία* *Euripides* calls it, where he speak of certaine ominous speeches let fall at a feast by a servant, just as one of the company was going to drink

The Latines call it *obscure*, and the words themselves *male ominata verba* ( as it is in *Horace*. ) we may english it *hazarding speeches*. Such words as these they had alwaies a superstitious care to avoid: insomuch that they would say instead of *δεσμωτήριον* a *prison*, *οἶκος* a *house*. And so for *βιβνυς*, *Ευμνιδης*, and *ζεμναι θεαι*: for *μνησθ*, *καταλα*: for *μυσος*, *αρος*, and the like. For there is a kind of words, which ( as *Tully* saies of *Nulla spes Respublica* ) *non licet*, or ( to speak in the In *Epist. ad* phrase of *Terence*. ) *Religio est dicere*, they made a scruple to *Callium*.

Z. z 3

Speak

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*speak* & therefore in time of Sacrifice, or any other business with the gods, nothing was more strictly commanded and observed, then *εὐνομαίει* (as it was among the Romans in the Proclamations for keeping of holy daies) to avoid all ominous expressions, or *κακὰ ὄντια* (as they called them.) Which if they were spoken by a brother, or one very neer of kin to that party whose business was then in hand, they took the greater notice of them, and thought them so much the worse. What words were especially counted for ominous, you might give me an account, if you could give me *Suetonius* his book, of which we have but the title, viz: *De vocibus male ominatis*. Only thus much I may tell you, that when they first set about any business of concernment, they had a special care to begin with a Preface *ἑὸς θεός*, or *ἐν ᾧ δεικνύται*, or *ἔσται αὖ ἐν*, like to *Persius* his *hoc bene sit*, and that old thread-bare word of the Latines, *Quod bonum felix fortunatumq; sit*. Some words there were, and Proper names of such a signification, as it was counted a happiness but to heare them spoken. For so when *Julius* had said

*Mensas etiam consumimus*—presently (saies *Virgil*) his Father laid hold on the word and embraced the omen

—*ea vox audita laborum*

*Eripuit pater*—

So *Leotychides*, when he desired of a *Samian* his assistance against the *Persians*, asked what his name was, and being answered *Hegesistratus*, reply'd, I embrace the omen in the name, or *ἡγεστράτης ἑξήστου ἑταῖρον*: for *ἑξήστου ἑταῖρον*, is the same with them, that accipere omen is with the Latines, that is, to make an ominous speech an omen indeed, and take it to my selfe. For indeed they counted it much in the power of the hearer, to make it an omen or not an omen; *ostentorum vires in eorum erant potestate, quibus ostendebantur*, saies *Pliny*.

Now the way to ab-ominate an omen, was either to sling a stone at the thing, if it were an ominous creature, as a Cat, or

or the like; or else if it were an unlucky speech, to retort it back againe with *εἰς κεφαλὴν σου, tibi in caput redeat, let it retorne upon thine own head*. Which perhaps is an expression borrowed from a custome of the *ἱερόσκοποι*, not only among *Herodot.* them, but among the *Egyptians* also, who when they spied any thing in the victims, that seemed to portend ill to their country, us'd to pray, *εἰς κεφαλὴν ταύτης τρεπίστω*, that it might retorne upō the head of the beast. The like perhaps is us'd in the Hebrew, *וַיֹּאמֶר בְּרַאשִׁי* in severall places of the Scripture: & it puts me in mind of that saying in *Seneca*, *Quis non, si admoneatur ut de suis cogitet, tanquam dirum omen respuat, & in capita inimicorum*, aut ipsius intempestivi monitoris abire illa jubeat. Instead of this sometimes they would say, \* *εἰς ἀγαθὰ τοῖς θεοῖς, dii monuerint meliora*. Sometimes upon such an unlucky speech heard while they did such a thing, they would doe it another way: or doe it againe; as one in *Euripides*, upon somebodies speaking an unhappy word as he was a drinking, threw the drink on the ground, & call'd for another cup.

Things ominous, some of them were in the parties own body, and those were: ther 1. *Markes*, such as *ἰλαίαι σφοῖς* like oyle. 2. *Παλμοί*. 3. *Πταρμοί*. *παλμοὶ διωνίσματα*, were such as the palpitations of the heart, or the eye, or any of the muscles, called in Latine *Salissationes*, and *βόμβος*, or *tinnitus aurium*; which if it were the tingling of the right eare, it was as good as the palpitation of the \* right eye. Of these things *Melampus* the great Fortune-teller wrote one book to *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*; & *Posidonius* another (saies *Strabo*) which he called *Παλμικὸν διωνίσμα*.

*Πταρμὸς* Sneezing, was so superstitiously esteemed of, that it came at length to be counted for a god. \* *πταρμὸν θεὸν ἡγούμεθα*, saies *Aristotle* in his Problems. Which was the reason, saith \* *Athenæus*, that they abstained from eating the braine, out of which the sneezing came; as also the cause of that usual prayer of salutation *Ζεῦ σῶσον*, at a sneezing: according to that jeere of *Ammian* upon a fellow with a long nose,

*Obadiæ. 15 & 1 Kings 2. v. 44. &c.*

\* *Moseh Idyl.*

\* *Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δὲ σαλευῖς μοι ὁ δεξιός.*

*Theocr. Id 3.*

L. 2.

as if it had stood so farre out, that he could not heare himselfe when he sneezed.

Οὐδ' ἄλγεα, ζεῦ σὺνεν, ὅταν ἤσκησεν, ἢ γὰρ ἀκούει

Τὴν φωνήν. πάλιν γὰρ ἀκούει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

Insomuch that if a man sneezed at such a time, or on such a side, they were either perswaded to, or discouraged from the businesse undertaken. Socrates (as *emmenēta navis* as he was) had so little sense himselfe, as to fetch advice from another man's nose, and to make a Sneeze serve instead of a genius or a *demonium*, to tell him the good and the bad; for it did both, according to circumstances. If a man Sneez'd in the afternoon it was a good omen: but ill in the morning and the reason is disputed by Aristotle in the *Probleme*. If a man Sneezed at table while they were taking away: or if another hapned to sneeze on the left hand of a man; then beware all is not right. But if it happened one the other hand all was well. If I may take *Enphrantides* his judgment, encouraging *Themistocles* his Souldiers to fight, upon no other ground then such a sneeze, αἶμα ὃ πλεονεξίαν ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐσημανεῖ. Such a sneeze while *Xenophon* was making his speech, was enough to make him a General. But another, while he perswaded the Souldiers to fight, was to them such an omen of ill luck, that they were faine to nuncupate a publike vote for the expiation of it. However (I think) ordinarily it was reckon'd for good; as in *Homer* that of *Telemachus* was, presently after a speech made of *Ulysses* his returne, and revenging himselfe of his enemies.

Ὡς φάτο, πλεονεξίης δὲ μέγ' ἔπαρσεν — and so *Penelope* took it; (for saies she, laughing and rejoycing) Οὐχ ἔρχεται ἑμὸς υἱὸς ἐπὶ πύλας αἴσων ἔπειτα. And the reason may be because sneezing is comonly *healty* and *wholsome*, σπουδαῖον δὲ: which perchance was understood by the aforesaid *Enphrantides*, when he added ὅτι γὰρ σπουδαῖον τε καὶ σίτηλον ἔστιν αὐτῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων. But now at last I must tell you of this way of divining too (as I did oft he former) that it was long agoe

sighted

sighted even among the *Grecians* by the wiser sort. For example, *Timotheus*, when one of the Souldiers happened to sneeze, as he was going on shipbord; being therefore dissuaded from going by the Master of the ship, burst out a laughing and said, πῶς γὰρ διώνισμα ἐἰς πᾶσαν ἀσπασίαν εἰς ἐπὶ πᾶσι; What great omen can it be for one man to sneeze, when there be so many together. But among the *Romans* a great deale more; for *Cicero* put it among the other fooleries, *Quæ si suscipiamus, & pedis offensio nobis, & corrigiæ abruptio, & sternutamenta erunt observanda.*

Ominous actions, or accidents were such as these following. First at a Sacrifice, it was an action much used, to take a piece of the cake or any other thing, and carry it home bona scæva gratia, as we say, for the lucks sake. This piece of cake, or pudding, or what shall I call it, they called by the name of \* *υἱοῖα sanitas*. If in Sacrificing the Priest did let any thing fall out of his hand, it was lookt upon as an unlucky accident. This observation the *Romans* called *caducum latius præcipuum auspicium*. 2ly At a Feast this action was lucky, to crowne the Cup with a Garland — *pateramq; Coronâ induit*. The reason (saies *Eustathius* out of *Athenæus*) was this, because a Garland represents a circle, τὸ γὰρ τοιαῦτα σχήματα καὶ τέλει, εἴτε δαλ- λειὰ εἴτε καὶ περικύκλωτα, which is the most compleate figure of all, & ὁ δὲ, saies *Hec- holds* most. Unlucky accidents were such as these, viz. The *sychium*, comming in of a strange black dog, the creaking of the table, the spilling of wine (of which *Xenocrates* had no more wit then to write a book) taking away while one was a drinking, or a suddaine silence. In putting on of the clothes the right side must be served first; and therefore if a servant had but given his Master the left shooe first, he was sure to have \* it. And thus much at Home. Abroad they had for their omens συμβολὰ ἐνοχλά, or συμβόλοι ὀνειδισμοῦ. That is (saies *Chrysostom*. the \* *Scholias*) καὶ τὰ ὅσα ἐνυπνοῦνται, occurracula, any thing that \* In *Arimet* shew first. Of such as these one named *Hippocrates* (not *Stoph Av*. the Physitian) and another named *Pollos* wrote their books *Suidas*.

If a Snake lay so in the way, as to part the company: or if they met with a Hare, or a Bitch with Whelps, or a Fixen with Cubbs; Or these things were *δυσάντητα, δυσπρόσιτα & ἀπο-σπαια* *δεύματα*, abominanda & averruncanda, abominable sights. So if a man hapened to meet with a Black-more, or an Ape, or an Eunuch, *ἐπὶ πρὸς ἀναστέγει*, saith *Lucian*, he must stand forty foot off. Nay if we met with but a Weezle or such a creature in the crosse way, we will have no Comitia sit for all this day. And \* *Artemidorus* will give you a reason, why a *γαλῆν* should be so much taken notice of, in his \* *ἡερμῆν*, or running by: because (forsooth) it is *ἰσχυρὸν τοῦ δεικνῆν*, that is (as I think) the letters in each word will signify the same number, viz. 42. But if it be so, how came she to be such an enemy to *δεν*, as to interrupt the course of justice? perhaps, it was only then, when they omitted that usuall ceremony, of leading her about the house for a *lustration*, to purge it of *unlucky* things. Infinite many more sorts of divination might I mention of this kind, but it will sufficiently testify what regard the Grecians had of such bables, if I tell you how that at Thebes *Apollo Spondius* himselfe had his Altars, and his prophesying by Omens *κατακλῆναι ἐπὶ καλῶν*. So likewise at *Smyrna* he had his *καλῶν ἐπὶ καλῶν*. where the fashion was for him that came for an omen, first to whisper his question in the *Idol's* eares, and then presently stopping his owne, to goe forth of the temple, and the first voyce he heard after he came out must goe for the Oracle. And so much of divining by a conjecture by art. One word or two of lots, and 'He have done.

CAP.

CAP. III.

De Sortibus, &amp;c.

His way of Divination is clean different from the former, because in it (as *Cicero* saies) *termeritas & casus, non ratio & consilium valet*. For though there might be *casus* of the things in the former, yet there was skill with all in the person to give the signification. It was invented by *Minerva*: only *Jupiter* took away her credit, to make the better trading for *Apollo*. Casting, or Drawing lots, was either with *ἀσπράγμοι*, or *tali* cast into a box: or with *tessera* (*τετραμαρτία* \* *Plutarch* calls them) little wooden tables with letters upon them drawn out of a pot, or *calculi* little balls of earth, with marks upon them for the names, sometimes taken out of a pot, & sometimes thrown into a well, (whether to see which came up first, or how it was I cannot tell.) *Pausanias* speaks of the wooden tables, that they were used in the temple of *Hercules Baccus* in *Achaia*. And the like (they say) were used by the Parliament of five hundred, with the characters of the ten first letters upon them, to shew to which of the ten Courts every judge was to goe (together with the Image of a rod the ensigne of *Mercury*, the God of Lots) he that had the *Alpha*, went to that Court which had the signe of *Alpha*, and they had the rest, to the Courts that bare the names of the letters. One of these waies or all (which I know not) was so much used by the *Thria*, (the three *Nymphes* reported to have been the nurses of *Apollo*) that at length the word *thria* came to be used for *sortes, lots*, according to that

Πολλοὶ ἀσπράγμοι ποιεῖν ἢ τὰ μάντιες ἀσπρεῖς

*Calculi* were very much used in ancient times in Judging of causes, & in wrestling matches, & the like: though (it seems) L. 2. *devin.* in *Cicero's* time not so much, *Quis enim magistratus, aut quis vir illustrior utitur sortibus, ceteris vero in locis plane refrigunt.*

A a a 2

In their *Wrestling-matches* I have read that they had a silver pot called the *κάλυψ*, into which they put little pellets about the bignesse of a bean; according to the number of the men, two with one marke; and those that hapned to draw the same marke were to *Wrestle* together: or if there were an odde man, he that had the luck to meet with the odde pellet (whom they named *ἐξάγγελος*) was to *come in at Kings* (as we say) or to *wrestle at last* with him that had the mastery. How they used them in *Judging of Causes*, has been shewed by another \* already. But that they were used also by persons condemned to dye, may be gathered out of *Aristophanes in Pace* For by reason that one only was to be put to death in one day, and sometimes the judgment was reversed: the Prisoners did cast lots who was to dye first; and he that drew first, was commonly called by the name of *κέρων* the *Mercury*. Thus in the ships in a storme, they used to cast lots who should be thrown over bord for a *καταρσις*. Thus *Enstathius* saies, the lot fell to \* *Ismene*, just as it did to the Prophet *Jonah*. And so in most of the Temples, that were resorted unto for Oracles, there were *ἐκκλησίαι* Lots and a table of purpose to throw for it; after the receiving of the answer; for *ἐν βελοντός με τὸ ὅτι ἀναβῶ ἀποτελεσθήτω τὸ ὅτι εἰ ὅτι*, *ἐν ἀποτελεσθήτω* (saies the *κ* upon *Pindar*) if I throw such a cast, the Prophecy will be fulfilled, If I doe not, it will not. Nay in the Lanes, and the Streets, and crossewaies they had their *sortes viales* (*εινός* *συμβόλιος* *Æschylus* calls them and *εινός* is a Title of *Mercury*) as well as the Romans. For the party that would know his fortune, carried so many cuts about him, with severall inscriptions; and the next boy he met with in the way as he went, he bid him draw: and if that which came forth, agreed with that which he had in his mind; it went for as good a Prophecy as the best, according to that of *Tibullus Eleg. 1.*

*Ille sacras pueri sortes ter sustulit, illi  
Retulit è triviis omnia certa puer.*

*Artemi*

*Artemidorus* in his *Proœmium*, speaks of *ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ μάντεων*, Diviners in the *Marker*. The originall of this divination *Plutarch* in his book *de Isidæ & Osiride*, fetches from the *Ægyptians*. For when *Typho* had put *Osiris* in a chest, & thrown him into the Sea: *Isis* as he was wandering too and fro to seek him, hapned upon a company of boyes at play; and asking of them, they shewed him the place. *ἐν τούτῳ τῷ παιδιᾷ κατηλὼ ἔχειν δύναμις εἶναι Ἀργυρίου καὶ μάστιγος τόνον. Κληθὲς πύζωντων ἐν ἑσθῇ καὶ θειομανίῳ ὅτι αὐτὸν πύζωνται.* Besides these waies already mention'd, they had another, by opening such a Poet in one or more places, and taking the first verses they met with for a prediction: which way of prediction they called *πύζωνται*, or *παζωνται*. And of this are meant the *Sortes Homericæ* we read of. And *Virgiliannæ*; which they say *Severus Alexander* made use of, when he met with this verse of *Virgil*

*Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.*

Nay the Christians themselves have not stickt to practise the like upon the Bible, according to that of *Nicephorus Gregor.* *Ἀνέλεν ἕκαστος αὐτὸν ἐν ψαλτικῷ περὶ ἑλπίου τοῦ οἰκείου ἀποκρίσιν.* And thus *Hercules* is reported by *Cedrenus*, to have askt counsaile out of the New Testament, *καὶ εὗρεν ὁπότε ποντοῦ ἐν Ἀλβανίᾳ περὶ χειμάτω*, and to have been thereby perswaded to Winter in *Albania*. Sometimes they would make choyce of divers fatidicall verses, and have written them upon little Tables, put them into a pot and draw for it. *Aug. l. 4. Confess. cap. 3.* Makes mention of these lotteries. *Si enim de paginis poetæ cuiuspiam longè aliud canentis atq; intendentis, cum sortem quis consulit mirabiliter consonus negotio sæpè versus exiret.* And this way they say that *Socrates* foretold the day of his death. But thus much may suffice of *κλήροι* *sortes*, for by *κλήροι* in the singular number, is many times meant the hint, or occasion given to Diviners to speak what they did. *τὸ σημεῖον τὸ δίδόνον τοῖς μανθωμένοις ὅτι οἱ μάντεες ὁρμαίνοντες καὶ ἐν ἑνὶ ἡμέρᾳ.*

*κ In Enrip.  
Hippol.*

For the Diviners themselves, *Vates*, or *μάντις*, as they did but little better then *faine* like Poets; so they did imitate them too in many other things, as in eating of hearts and livers, and tying of Laurell about their heads, as the Poet \* saies of *Cassandra* \* *Χλασσομένη στήθεσιν δάδραγ κασυνθήται*. For why? — *venturi præcia laurus*. The Laurel they took to be a thing of speciall and soveraigne vertue, both to set a man a Prophesying, ( and therefore *Surip.* calls it *θεομήσιον δάφνιον* ) and to preserve him from any evil; & therefore very much used in Lustrations, insomuch that they would commonly have the staves they carried in their hands, to be made of Lawrell wood. They had their dyet in the *Prytanæum* like publicke persons. *Χρηματόβοι κατέχοντες ἐν πυρτανάῳ ἱερήματα*, saies the Scholiast on *Aristophanes*. There was one more noted Fraternity of them, called the *μυσταῖς ἑδὲ τι καὶ θεαγία μάντεων*, saies *Hesych.* Three Prophets there were of very great fame, every one called by the name of *Bacis*. The eldest was of *Eleon* in *Boeotia*; the next of *Athens* ( he that cured the *Lacedæmonian* women of their madnesse; ) and the youngest of *Caphua* in *Arcadia* ( of *Locris* some say ) otherwise called *Κούδαι*, and *Ἀλάντις*. Answering to these three men, the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* ( in *Irene* ) saies there were three Women Prophets, every one of whome was called by the name of *Sybilla*, viz. *Delphica*, *Erythraæ*, and *Sardiaca*. But the first ( I believe ) had most of the Spirit of *Python*, and brought her Master most gaine by *Southsaying*.

And now, Courteous Reader, though I have done so much so ill already, I must be forced to doe more yet; and excuse one fault with another. For my desire

fire is to leave thee fully satisfied with my reasons why I did it at all, and why I did it not better. The cords that drew me to doe it ( and drawn I was ) were three, such as twisted together I could by no meanes break viz. First the importunity of my freind. 2. The necessity of the knowledge of Ancient Rites and Customs, for the understanding of Authors and 3. The hopes which I had, by Employment ( as by an Issue ) to divert my humor of Melancholy another way. The causes why I did it no better, are as many. viz. First, want of yeares and judgment, having done the most part of it in my Tyrocinium ( when I took more delight in these studies ) as appears by the number of the Authours which I have cited. 2ly. Want of health. And 3ly

\* Eurip. *Iphig.*  
in *A.v.* 757.  
\* In *Androm.*

\* *Acts* c. 16,  
v 16.

3ly, Want of time and leasure being cal-  
led away by occasions, that might not be  
neglected, and by friends that could not  
be disobeyed. If yet I have given thee  
but a little light, and my labour and oyle  
be not all lost, I have as much as I desi-  
red my selfe, and thou hast no more then  
I owed thee.

Z. BOGAN.

Μάτων οὐτος ὁπλοῖς ὅσι' ἔχοντες; Εὐεργισίας  
Μητρες εἰς δὴα, Πατρες δ' ὅγα Σώμα δ' ἀλλοῖ  
Ἄλλοι ἔδωκε ψυχῇ, εἰπερ ψυχὴ ἐντελέχεια.  
Ἦ οὐ, Πάπον, Πλήρωμα, τὸ πρὶν πῶμα, τίτευξαι  
Ἐὺα, τὰ δ' Ἑλλήνων ἀρχαῖα Σὺ μάλλον ἐπ' αἰεὶ  
Μάλλον ἀποσπόδισαν Σκευὴ καὶ κυμμένα περρῶ.

\*Εκδόσει εἶναι πὺ νέον; τὰ φθῶ, ὄρκοι, ὄρωτες  
Ὁρῶμεν, λεχέι, Ἰνέται, Μαντῶν, Πόλεμοι.

R. WARRE.

è C.C.C.

FINIS.

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